



ELECTION 2020

Biden's lead fuels sense of deja vu

Democrats, confident of victory at this point in 2016, remain on edge

BY MICHAEL SCHERER AND SCOTT CLEMENT

The polls are once again delivering feel-good boosts to Democrats: Joe Biden beats President Trump by 10, 11 or 12 points nationally, depending on the day. His edge in Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin averages eight. Propeller-heads promise better than 4 in 5 odds of a new president next year.

But then the partisans remember they have been here before, four years ago this week. The conflicting emotions can be overwhelming.

"I am feeling anxious and trapped between a sense of unbridled optimism and sheer dread," said Abington Township, Pa., Commissioner Bill Bole, who like many Democrats never thought Trump could beat Hillary Clinton in 2016 and was stunned when he did.

"It's really tough to live in this sort of bifurcated state of watching the polls and trying to glean trends from them but also not really incorporate them into your thinking," he said.

Bole is not alone. Democrats went to the polls last time certain they would elect the first woman ever to become president, and were punched in the face with a Trump upset. This time they feel the punch coming from a thousand miles away. The worry is

SEE POLLS ON A9



LOGAN CYRUS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Voters enter Garinger High School in Charlotte to cast their ballots on Thursday, the first day of early voting in North Carolina.

'I was waiting for this day'

BY AMY GARDNER

A 72-year-old voter in Dayton, Ohio, said, "I'm angry about everything." A retired veterinary technician in Detroit said she voted for one reason only: "Donald Trump. To make sure he's not reelected." A federal employee who waited in line for 10 hours in suburban Atlanta explained simply: "I have three Black sons."

Two weeks before Election Day, Black Americans have voted

Black Americans rush to polls, endure long lines amid historic swell in early voting

in striking numbers, helping to drive historic levels of early voting as mail ballots have flooded election offices and people have endured huge lines to cast ballots in person across the country.

In interviews in 10 states where early voting is underway, Black voters said this year's presidential election is the most

which they believe a second Trump term would erode beyond repair. Many said they view the president as a racist who cannot bring himself to disavow white supremacists or the year's spate of police killings of unarmed Black Americans, and they believe the country is less safe for themselves and their families.

Over and over again, Black Americans described their vote this year as much more than a

SEE VOTERS ON A10

Anxieties build in Pa. battleground

BY MARC FISHER

In Erie County, Pa., either Joe Biden or President Trump is showing up every week now, and the anxiety level is through the roof.

There's fear of neighbors: On Election Day, self-appointed guardians armed with assault weapons plan to take up positions outside local polling places. There's fear of outsiders: A Ku Klux Klan group from out of state recently dropped racist fliers on the driveways of some

Erie residents fear voter intimidation, slow count as Nov. 3 nears

homes with Biden signs on the lawns. And there's fear of what's coming Nov. 3: The county sheriff doesn't have nearly enough deputies to keep eyes on all 149 polls.

In one of the most important battlegrounds in one of the most critical swing states in the 2020 presidential race, the Republican county chairman, Verel Salmon,

73, sees "passion like never before in my lifetime, for good and bad, and I started with 'I Like Ike.' I don't think I've heard a single optimistic thing this year."

"With every day, the tension gets higher," agreed Jim Wertz, the county's Democratic chairman. "We're asking the county to respond to any acts of intimidation."

But for all the worry about Election Day disruptions, Wertz, Salmon and many of the county's elected officials say they are

SEE ERIE ON A8



BONNIE JO MOUNT/THE WASHINGTON POST

Erie County's Republican Party chairman, Verel Salmon, talks with Trump supporters at a gathering Thursday.

GEORGE FLOYD'S AMERICA

Segregated from opportunity

Three decades after George Floyd tried, another generation hopes to find a path out of Cuneo Homes

BY TRACY JAN AND ARELIS R. HERNÁNDEZ

HOUSTON — The last time Kimberly Gibson made a cake for her son was on his first birthday. But she knows 18 is a milestone, especially for a young man on his way out of the projects, destined to play college football.

So on a September afternoon, Gibson dumped two boxes of Betty Crocker vanilla cake mix into a bowl, added eggs, water and oil, and stirred the lumpy batter in her cramped galley kitchen.

Baking hadn't been an option for birthdays past, when she was exhausted by the daily tasks required to simply keep



JOSHUA LOTT FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Kimberly Gibson embraces her son Daniel Hunt, 18, whose dreams of playing college football are on hold because of the pandemic.

her son out of trouble and alive in a neighborhood riddled with violence. In this part of Third Ward, where Black men are referred to as an "endangered species," each untimely death is memorialized on the orange brick wall of the corner store. The "ghetto angels," as they are collectively known.

The most prominent of those is now George Floyd, the former Cuneo Homes kid who has become the embodiment of police brutality and systemic racial inequality in America.

For Gibson, Floyd's death has been more personal, an unsettling reminder that the

SEE FLOYD ON A6

As virus spikes in red states, governors resist restrictions

BY GRIFF WITTE AND TONY ROMM

With cases surging to new highs and hospital capacity running low, North Dakota Gov. Doug Burgum teared up describing a state "caught in the middle of a covid storm."

To weather it, he said at a news conference last week, people would need to keep their distance, wear masks and avoid gatherings. But the one thing North Dakota did not need were legal limits on reckless behavior.

"It's not a job for government," Burgum (R) declared.

The novel coronavirus is hammering middle America this fall, with records shattered daily in states that had escaped the worst of the pandemic this spring and summer. Case numbers also are

rising again in other states where the virus was thought to be under control after months of widespread illness.

Yet even as health authorities in small cities and rural towns plead for help in tamping down deadly outbreaks, many Republican governors are resisting new measures to stop the spread. Some are even loosening rules already on the books.

Instead, they preach the mantra of "personal responsibility," insisting that government interventions such as mask mandates or business restrictions are either unnecessary or harmful, and that people should be trusted to make their own decisions about how to keep themselves — and each other — healthy.

"This is a job for everybody,"

SEE VIRUS ON A19

IN THE NEWS

Dispute in Afghanistan Despite its recent 10-day offensive, the Taliban is accusing the U.S. military of violating a February accord with "excessive" strikes. A13

Pandemic relief House Speaker Nancy Pelosi set a Tuesday deadline to reach a deal with the White House before the election. A4

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HAPPENING TODAY

For the latest updates all day, visit [washingtonpost.com](#).

All day | President Trump holds campaign rallies in Prescott, Ariz., and Tucson. For developments, visit [washingtonpost.com/politics](#).

All day | Secretary of State Mike Pompeo participates in the virtual U.S.-Brazil Connect summit with President Jair Bolsonaro, and later meets with Romanian Foreign Minister Bogdan Aurescu. Visit [washingtonpost.com/world](#) for details.

8 a.m. | Federal Reserve Chair Jerome H. Powell delivers remarks during an International Monetary Fund online seminar on cross-border payments. For developments, visit [washingtonpost.com/business](#).

11:35 a.m. | Anthony S. Fauci, director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, delivers online remarks on the pandemic during the National Academy of Medicine's annual meeting. Visit [washingtonpost.com/national](#) for details.

THE WEEK AHEAD

TUESDAY
Game 1 begins in Major League Baseball's 2020 World Series.

WEDNESDAY
President Trump holds a campaign rally in Gastonia, N.C.

THURSDAY
Jobless claims for the week ended Oct. 17 are estimated at 868,000.

FRIDAY
NIH Director Francis Collins discusses coronavirus vaccine developments at a National Press Club event.

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Supreme Court nominee Amy Coney Barrett was asked at her confirmation hearing to explain the legal doctrine of originalism.

Originalism and the people left out of the Constitution

The Fix

EUGENE SCOTT

Judge Amy Coney Barrett's Supreme Court confirmation testimony was light on specifics about how she views individual cases and precedents but heavy with references to how she approaches her job. She's an "originalist."

President Trump last month chose Barrett, a 48-year-old judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 7th Circuit, to replace the late Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg.

Early in Barrett's confirmation hearing, Sen. Lindsey O. Graham (R-S.C.) asked Barrett to explain originalism, the legal philosophy she adheres to and that her mentor, the late Justice Antonin Scalia, famously promoted.

"In English, that means that I interpret the Constitution as a law, and that I interpret its text as text, and I understand it to have the meaning that it had at the time people ratified it," she said. "So that meaning doesn't change over time and it's not up to me to update it or infuse my own policy views into it"

On its face, that approach prompts a lot of questions about how one could protect the rights of groups who weren't protected in the text of the original document and who remain marginalized in

many ways today. After all, the authors of the Constitution omitted women, people of color, religious minorities and LGBTQ Americans. Many of them were enslavers.

Proponents of the theory point out that the Constitution now includes many amendments to clarify the rights of those people. But it's a fair question whether an originalist interpretation would have led to progress on those fronts at all.

Critics say originalism is shortsighted and even problematic because it seems to fail to recognize the shortcomings of that document as it was originally drafted.

After watching Barrett's hearing, Chicago Mayor Lori Lightfoot (D), a former assistant U.S. attorney, told reporters Tuesday that it is her identity as a member of multiple historically marginalized groups that led her to reject originalism.

"Since the Constitution didn't consider me a person, in any way, shape or form, because I'm a woman, because I'm Black, because I'm gay, I am not an originalist," Lightfoot said. "I believe in the Constitution. I believe that it's a document that the Founders intended to evolve. And what they did was set the framework for how our country

was going to be different than any other, and whatever was there in the original language, that's it. Well, that language excluded now over 50 percent of the country,"

This is a point that 2016 Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton, a former law professor, made on social media.

But Randy Barnett, a constitutional law professor at Georgetown University, told The Fix that critics of originalism are misunderstanding what that interpretation means in 2020.

"It just means giving the words of the text the meaning that they had when they were adopted," he said.

"It is not enforcing the views or intentions of the people who were alive then and how they would decide cases today," added Barnett, who is also an originalist. "They're criticizing a version of originalism that really hasn't been favored by originalists for 30 years."

Barnett said most critics of originalism assume that originalists are focused on an interpretation of the Constitution as completed in 1789. Originalists, he said, are interpreting the text with all of the amendments that have been incorporated into the document since then.

Justin Driver, a constitutional law professor at Yale Law School, told The Fix that originalists

sometimes go beyond interpreting the Constitution as what "was written down on paper" to understand the law.

"They argue that you want to pay attention to the text of the Constitution, and if this is not the text of the Constitution, then it is irrelevant," he said. "Now the truth of the matter is that constitutional understanding as interpreted by the Supreme Court goes well beyond what the text of the Constitution says. There is a lot of constitutional interpretation that has little connection to the text of the Constitution of the United States."

Questions about how exactly Barrett would interpret the conversation on cases examining the rights of historically marginalized groups remain, given that the judge very often chose not to provide clear answers on how she would rule on specific cases.

But familiarity with originalism — and how it affects the lives of Americans at present — could grow, as Barrett is very likely to be confirmed before the election and seems on track to shape decisions about the law of the land before Inauguration Day.

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DIGEST

CALIFORNIA

Report: Peaceful rally monitored by spy plane

A peaceful protest in a sleepy and affluent suburb that is home to the head of the California National Guard was among four demonstrations monitored by National Guard spy planes earlier this year, according to a newspaper report Sunday.

The four planes took to the skies over several cities in early June to monitor street protests following the killing of George Floyd in police custody,

triggering concerns that the military was improperly gathering intelligence on U.S. citizens, the Los Angeles Times reported.

Three of the reconnaissance planes watched demonstrations in Minneapolis, Phoenix and D.C. that drew hundreds or thousands of protesters and were marred by violence.

But the target of the fourth plane was El Dorado Hills, a prosperous suburb of Sacramento, where much smaller rallies were entirely peaceful, the Times said.

Local and state authorities have not explained why that area

was chosen for the mission when other California cities that had seen property destruction and street clashes amid large protests — such as Los Angeles and Oakland — were not.

The head of the California National Guard, Maj. Gen. David S. Baldwin, lives in El Dorado Hills, the Times reported.

— *Associated Press*

Newborn delivered after Chicago shooting dies: A newborn boy delivered after his mother was fatally shot last week in Chicago has died, authorities confirmed Sunday. Chicago police said the baby died

Saturday. He was 4 days old. He was delivered Tuesday in critical condition after his mother, Stacey Jones, 35, was shot twice in the back while standing outside her home on the city's South Side. She was eight months pregnant and pronounced dead at a hospital. Jones's two other children were sleeping inside the home and were unharmed, according to the Chicago Tribune. No charges have been announced. A person of interest was questioned last week and released without charges.

Thousands evacuated in Colorado fire: Nearly 3,000 people were forced to flee from a fast-moving fire in north-central Colorado, and authorities think some buildings were lost. The Cal-Wood Fire started about noon Saturday near the Cal-Wood Education Center, about 17 miles from downtown Boulder. It was pushed by strong winds. The National Center for Atmospheric Research's Mesa lab recorded gusts of 59 mph on Saturday. More than 1,600 residences and nearly 3,000 people were under evacuation orders, including the small town of Jamestown, Boulder County officials said.

Missouri pot dispensaries open: Missouri's first licensed marijuana dispensaries opened this weekend in the St. Louis area with long lines. The two dispensaries run by N'Bliss opened Saturday in Ellisville and Manchester. Another dispensary is expected to open Monday in the Kansas City area nearly two years after Missouri voters approved a constitutional amendment to allow the sale of medical marijuana. To buy the drug, people need approval from a doctor and a state medical marijuana card. Prices are expected to be high initially because the supply is limited in the state at this stage.

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POLITICS & THE NATION

Wis. violence shelter’s BLM signs spur board resignations, police pushback

BY HANNAH KNOWLES

Signs set the tone at the Embrace help centers and shelter for victims of domestic and sexual violence in rural Wisconsin. They declare a “safe space,” prohibit firearms and welcome people who are LGBTQ.

As of this summer, they also include “Black Lives Matter.”

In an overwhelmingly White and conservative stretch of the state, those signs of support for victims of color and their struggles with racism have triggered a firestorm — stoking tensions in towns a couple of hours from Minneapolis, where George Floyd died in police custody, and north of Kenosha, where Jacob Blake was shot by officers.

Embrace executive director Katie Bement says she expected “tough conversations” but nothing like this: a parade of board resignations, the loss of \$25,000 in funding, the end of valued partnerships with many police departments in the four counties where the nonprofit serves a population of about 90,000. Voters there in 2016 went decisively for President Trump, who has called the Black Lives Matter slogan a “symbol of hate.”

In one county, all five law enforcement agencies stopped referring victims to Embrace for help.

“It’s an abuse of power,” Bement said.

A rift here over support for Black Lives Matter has divided people who normally work together on critical public services at a time when the pandemic has made life newly dangerous for victims of domestic abuse. Experts say the fallout over Embrace — first reported by Wisconsin Public Radio and other local news outlets — is part of a spate of strained relationships between law enforcement and their community partners, many of whom see speaking out about police violence and racism as a natural extension of their work.

Embrace says it cannot serve victims without fighting all forms of oppression, especially when those it helps are disproportionately people of color. Members of

law enforcement say shelter staff should “stay in their lane” to avoid alienating both victims and collaborators. Police say no victims will go unserved because of the dispute, but Bement says she is worried.

“Together is how we’re most effective in serving survivors, not separated and isolated,” she wrote in a series of long emails last month to Barron County Sheriff Chris Fitzgerald, according to messages Bement shared with The Washington Post.

Fitzgerald, who would soon resign from Embrace’s board, predicted trouble was coming over the Black Lives Matter signs. The county is pro-police, he told Bement, “and BLM has been very outspoken against Law Enforcement.”

“We will lose support, money and members by picking this fight,” he warned.

Bement says she has tried to emphasize from the beginning that Embrace’s Black Lives Matter signs and its anti-racism statement were not meant as a jab at local law enforcement.

“The movement is not anti-police,” she wrote in one email to Fitzgerald. “You can be upset with police brutality, believe that black lives have value just like white lives, and support good police officers all at the same time.”

“That struggle and discomfort you are feeling with this anti-oppression work is okay and normal,” she said in another.

But the spat has surfaced deeply rooted disagreements about the extent to which the issues driving protesters nationwide were relevant to their rural part of the state.

In emails to The Post, Fitzgerald said his department “stands with everyone on all racial equality issues and [will] work with anyone to fix them.” He added, however, that Embrace was asked to focus on the core issues they serve victims for, “not problems that only exist [in] other areas.”

Speaking earlier this week on a local journalist’s live stream, he likened the social issues Embrace was raising to sea-creature preservation: “While saving the dolphins



A Black Lives Matter sign at the Barron County office of Embrace, which aids victims of domestic and sexual violence in Wisconsin.

might be important, we don’t live by the ocean,” he said.

Law enforcement and victim services organizations often work closely, advocates said. But Embrace’s public support of Black Lives Matter came at a time of huge upheaval, as many domestic violence coalitions take a hard look at their relationships to the criminal justice system, said Casey Gwinn, the president of Alliance for HOPE International.

The Alliance helps domestic violence and sexual assault victims at centers bringing together police, prosecutors, advocates, doctors and others. On a call Thursday, Gwinn said, organizational leaders from around the country spoke of “incredible stress and strain” from activists in these

centers who are saying “we don’t want to deal with the cops anymore.”

Dozens of state coalitions against sexual assault and domestic violence signed onto a June letter that endorses Black Lives Matter and describes a “moment of reckoning” after Floyd’s death under the knee of a Minneapolis police officer. The letter declares the groups’ “failure to listen” to warnings about turning to policing, prosecution and imprisonment as a “primary solution.”

Kelly Miller, executive director of the Idaho Coalition Against Sexual and Domestic Violence, said the letter was not meant to sever ties with law enforcement. It was not a call to “defund” the police, she said, but a call to look beyond

police.

Yet three Idaho groups — the Chiefs of Police Association, Sheriffs Association and the Prosecuting Attorneys Association — responded with letters saying they were ending their relationships with Miller’s group, she said.

None of the associations responded to requests for comment, and Miller declined to provide the letters without the other groups’ consent.

Practically, Miller said, the fallout means these organizations will no longer join her coalition in a years-long Idaho initiative to address bias in the criminal justice system.

“My hope is that over time folks will be able to come back together in the same room,” Miller said.

In Wisconsin, Bement said, she decided it might help to write an “anti-racism” statement explaining her organization’s commitment to Black Lives Matter.

People of color are overrepresented among those seeking Embrace’s help: Just 5 to 6 percent of its four-county service area is non-White, but people of color make up 15 percent of those the organization serves in person.

“So we really feel that we can’t remain silent and neutral when we have survivors that we serve, saying that they’re experiencing racism in our community,” Bement said.

She says she brought a draft of the anti-racism statement to a Sept. 24 meeting of Embrace’s board, encountering reservations about language but not outright opposition: “Police brutality” was changed to “police violence,” she said, while the “attempted murder” of Jacob Blake became just “shooting.”

“Racism, police violence, sexual violence, and domestic violence all have the same root causes, and they interact and compound on each other both in society and within the survivors we serve,” the final draft read in part.

One week after it went online, she got an email from Barron County’s health and human services director: The director was resigning from Embrace’s board as well, and the Barron County

Executive Committee had just voted to pull \$25,000 in funding. The next day, an email from law enforcement in Washburn County arrived saying they would have “no ongoing affiliation” with Embrace.

Burnell Hanson, second vice chair of the county board, confirmed the funding cut was driven by Embrace’s signs and statement.

“If they’re going to be blowing the horn for Black Lives Matter, we’re not going to give them that 25,000,” he said, denying the opposition had “anything to do with race.”

“The violence and looting and all that stuff that they’ve been pushing has nothing to do with protesting,” Hanson said of Black Lives Matter. “It’s just violence and looting. Between that and antifa, we’ve got a bunch of crooks running around the country doing bad stuff.”

Barron County officials say they are ending partnerships but still referring victims to Embrace, at least until they find an alternative. Price County Sheriff Brian Schmidt said Embrace has “taken a stance I can’t agree with” but added that the “victims will always come first” and that he will still refer for now, too.

In Washburn County, law enforcement have reached out to another agency based in a county nearby, according to the sheriff department. “The Washburn County Sheriff’s Office takes its responsibility to serve and protect all our community members very serious and will continue to do so,” it said in a statement.

Gwinn, the president of Alliance for HOPE International, said he understands police’s frustration with the intense scrutiny they’re under but believes “this is not a time to declare war on domestic violence agencies.”

“This is the time for law enforcement to lean into the conversation on how we can do better,” he said.

“Saying you lose your money if you support this,” he added, “or you don’t get our engagement anymore if you say this — that just breaks my heart.”

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Pelosi sets Tuesday deadline for reaching stimulus deal with White House

BY ERICA WERNER

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) said Sunday that an economic stimulus deal must be struck within 48 hours for Congress to pass legislation before Election Day, but she noted that significant differences remain between her and Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin.

“Well that depends on the [Trump] administration,” Pelosi said on ABC News’s “This Week” when asked if it was still possible to get relief to Americans ahead of the election barely two weeks from now.

Pelosi’s on-again, off-again talks with Mnuchin over a deal costing between \$1.8 trillion and \$2.2 trillion have been dragging on for months without producing results. The window for action is narrowing fast. For the first time, Pelosi put a deadline on them, indicating that if no agreement can be struck by Tuesday, it will not be possible to produce a new relief deal by the election. Pelosi and Mnuchin spoke for 75 minutes on Saturday and agreed to speak again on Monday.

“The 48 only relates to if we want to get it done before the election — which we do,” Pelosi said. “But we’re saying to them we have to freeze the design on some of these things, are we going with it or not, and what is the language.”

Tuesday’s deadline is exactly two

weeks before the Nov. 3 elections.

The White House and Pelosi appeared to be at odds more over the substance of the package and not the dollar amount. In an interview with a Milwaukee television station that was broadcast Saturday, Trump said he would approve a spending package that was larger than even the \$2.2 trillion that Democrats had sought.

“Nancy Pelosi doesn’t want to approve anything because she wants to bail out poorly run Democrat states,” Trump said in the interview. “And we don’t want to do that.”

Pelosi has called for more money for states and cities, but Republican local leaders are among those who have asked for more aid, not just Democrats.

Pelosi has not spoken with President Trump in over a year, but reiterated Sunday that she’s negotiating through his emissaries and said there is little point in talking directly with the president because he is not truthful.

“You want to meet with him, you meet with him,” she told host George Stephanopoulos. “As far as I’m concerned, the speaker of the House must be respected in terms of what the purpose of the meeting is, what the preparation is for and what the likelihood of success would be.”

Millions remain out of work and in desperate straits. The economic recovery has slowed. A number of



DEMETRIUS FREEMAN/THE WASHINGTON POST

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) said Sunday that significant divisions remain over relief funds.

House Democrats have pressed Pelosi urgently to make a deal, but the speaker has made clear she believes she has the leverage in the talks, and she showed no sign Sunday of backing down.

Mnuchin said Thursday he was prepared to accept Pelosi’s demands for a national strategic testing plan, subject to minor edits. But Pelosi said Sunday those edits

turned out to be significant, including changing “shall” to “may,” “requirements” to “recommendations” and “a plan” to “a strategy, not a strategic plan.”

She said these word changes would give the White House too much flexibility to back out of commitments once the law is passed.

“When you say ‘may,’ you’re giving the president a slush fund. He

may do this, he may grant, he may withhold,” Pelosi said. “When you say ‘shall,’ according to . . . what the science tells must happen. . . . We can open our schools, we can open our businesses.”

Testing language is not the only major issue that remains outstanding. Pelosi and Mnuchin also have yet to come to terms on funding for cities and states, child care, tax

credits for lower-income Americans, liability protections sought by Republicans, and more. They have areas of agreement including aid to airlines and a new round of \$1,200 stimulus checks to Americans.

Mnuchin is traveling in the Middle East, which could further complicate prospects for an outcome. A spokesperson for the treasury secretary had no immediate comment on Pelosi’s remarks.

Reaching agreement by Tuesday seems next to impossible. Even if Pelosi and Mnuchin were to do so, Senate Republicans have indicated strong opposition to the level of spending the two are discussing.

Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) announced Saturday that the Senate will be voting Wednesday on a narrow \$500 billion bill, essentially the same legislation Democrats blocked last month. The bill will include money for schools and health care, liability protections, small-business spending, and enhanced unemployment insurance that is lower than the \$600 weekly that expired July 31. It does not include new relief checks for individuals.

McConnell said Saturday that if Pelosi and Mnuchin do reach a deal, “the Senate would of course consider it,” though it’s unclear precisely what that means.

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Jeff Stein contributed to this report.

Rulings on 2020 Census could affect Congress for years

BY TARA BAHRAMPOUR

The Supreme Court has revived the Trump administration’s hopes for excluding undocumented immigrants from representation, potentially altering the balance of power in Congress for the next 10 years.

The court Tuesday cut short the census count by two weeks, which census experts and civil rights advocates say risks producing a less accurate count. Then on Friday, the court said it would review President Trump’s efforts to omit unauthorized immigrants when apportioning congressional seats. The court will take up a lower court’s order that had blocked the Commerce Department and Census Bureau from including information about the undocumented when they deliver state population counts to the White House after the census is completed. The justices said they will hold a hearing Nov. 30.

The government has said it ended the count early to provide state population totals to Trump by the statutory deadline of Dec. 31, even though it had originally asked for a four-month extension because of the coronavirus pandemic.

Moving up the end date set off a wave of litigation from civil rights advocates who argued that it would cause an undercount of traditionally hard-to-count populations such as minorities, immigrants and low-income people, depriving them of services such as schools, roads, fire stations and hospitals, along with political representation. Businesses and analysts also rely on census data when deciding where to open new locations or make policy recommendations based on population numbers.

The purpose for the rush appears to be political. Meeting the Dec. 31 deadline helps ensure that regardless of November’s election outcome, the president will have an opportunity to fulfill a July memorandum in which he said he wanted to omit the undocumented from apportionment.

A government filing to expedite Supreme Court review of the case said: “Absent some form of relief from the judgment, the Secretary and the President will be forced to make reports by the statutory deadlines that do not reflect the President’s important policy decision concerning the apportionment.”

Removing undocumented immigrants from apportionment would be unprecedented in U.S. history, and critics say it is unconstitutional. It could also affect the makeup of the House and the distribution of electoral college votes, shifting representation from some more diverse states with large immigrant populations to more White ones. A Pew Research Center study this summer found that if the country’s undocumented immigrants were excluded from apportionment, California, Texas and Florida would end up with one less seat and Minnesota, Ohio and Alabama would end up with one more, compared with what they would have gotten with no adjustments.

Trump’s memo sparked a separate spate of lawsuits, including the case that the Supreme Court plans to take up in November. But



MATTHEW BROWN/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Lauri Dawn Kindness helps a family participate in the 2020 Census on the Crow Indian Reservation in Montana on Aug. 26.

even as litigation is underway, the government has not explained how it plans to identify and count undocumented immigrants, leaving some worried that reapportionment numbers could be calculated by the White House behind closed doors.

Howard Hogan, a former Census Bureau chief demographer, wrote in a court filing that “traditionally, the Census Bureau takes the Apportionment Counts, that is, state population counts, and applies a complex mathematical algorithm to allocate the 435 Congressional seats to the states.”

But bureau officials “state that the Census Bureau plans to give to the President the components of the Apportionment Counts,” he wrote. “The clear implication is that it would not be the Census Bureau that would compute the actual apportionment, but presumably someone at the White House. The risk to an accurate and fair apportionment [is] enormous.”

The law requires that apportionment numbers be based on an actual enumeration of people living in a state, not estimates. Because no comprehensive list of undocumented immigrants exists, attempts to count them could involve subtracting citizens and legally documented noncitizens from the total population count.

Hints about the process that the White House may use to exclude the undocumented have emerged in court documents. In a filing to the Supreme Court this month, acting solicitor general Jeffrey B. Wall wrote that the bureau planned to “provide the President with information regarding any ‘unlawful aliens in ICE Detention Centers’ whom the President could, consistent with the discretion delegated to him by law, exclude from the apportionment base, thereby partially implement-

ing his Memorandum.”

But the number of people in Immigration and Customs Enforcement detention centers on April 1, the official Census Day, is probably in the tens of thousands and is probably not enough to affect representation in a meaningful way, said Dale Ho, director of the ACLU’s Voting Rights Project, who argued the case. “That’s not going to shift any seats,” he said. “It just seems to me that they must have more in mind.”

In an email to Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross in late September, Census Bureau Deputy Director Ron Jarmin referred to a plan “to finish the processing of the resident population, federally affiliated overseas and, if requested, unlawful aliens in ICE Detention Centers by 12/31,” adding that other “outputs” related to the presidential memo would be pushed to Jan. 11.

In a statement this month, Al Fontenot, the bureau’s associate director for decennial census programs, said the bureau had postponed “the five days of processing needed to implement the Presidential Memorandum” to the first week of January.

The bureau and the Commerce Department did not respond to questions from The Washington Post about what the “outputs” are.

At a hearing in Maryland on Wednesday in a related suit, a panel of federal judges pressed the government to define the additional “outputs” and processing. Justice Department lawyer John Coghlan said the plan was “a dynamic process” and the bureau was “not in a position to answer that question right now.”

“How can you say we don’t know what the plan is, it’s dynamic, it’s changing, but we know it will take five days?” asked Judge Pamela Harris of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 4th Circuit. “I am starting to

feel that someone is not being honest with us.”

Coghlan told the panel that aside from people in ICE detention centers, “it’s unknown right now what additional categories could . . . potentially be feasibly identified by the secretary.”

Sounding infuriated, U.S. District Judge Paula Xinis noted: “So until the secretary reports the numbers to the president, it is a black box.”

After the government’s attempt to add a citizenship question to the survey was blocked last year by the Supreme Court, Trump issued an executive order directing federal agencies to share information on citizenship with the bureau. It is not clear how much information has been shared or how good the quality is. Only a handful of states complied with a bureau request to share information from state DMVs.

The bureau may be collecting information from other administrative records, including the Social Security Administration, the Internal Revenue Service, U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services and the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

But that data may not accurately reflect someone’s immigration status or place of residence on Census Day.

“To my knowledge, administrative data sources don’t exist to give you a comprehensive picture for the undocumented populations,” said Amy O’Hara, a former Census Bureau official who is now executive director of the Federal Statistical Research Data Center at Georgetown University’s McCourt School for Public Policy.

Inaccurate or incomplete counts of the undocumented would not affect apportionment if the inaccuracy were spread evenly across states, said Tom Louis, a former chief scientist and former

associate director for research and methodology at the Census Bureau. But the addition this year of four political appointees to the traditionally nonpartisan bureau worries him.

“Staff is not going to feel comfortable discussing issues and resolving them with those four around,” said Louis, who, along with Hogan, was on the task force that on Tuesday issued an American Statistical Association report calling for more transparency around the agency’s decennial Census activities. “My concern is that we’ll never know what the values were before the undocumented were removed.”

It is also not clear from the president’s directive who would meet the criteria to be excluded.

“Who is an unauthorized immigrant? It’s not particularly well-defined,” said demographer Jeffrey Passel, who co-authored the Pew analysis. Even after putting aside naturalized citizens, green-card holders, refugees and foreign students, he said, many of the remaining immigrants might have authorization to be in the United States, including people who have DACA or temporary protected status, or who have applied for asylum.

The number of undocumented immigrants is commonly estimated to be between 10.5 million and 12 million people. But Trump’s executive order last year cited a study that estimated the number at between 16.2 million and 29.5 million, sparking concerns that the government may try to exclude people from apportionment who are here legally.

Beyond the battle over apportionment, ongoing problems around the 2020 count have raised questions over whether the data will be accurate enough to rely on for the upcoming decade. Census numbers are also used to determine state redistricting and

\$1.5 trillion in federal funding each year.

Because of pandemic-related delays, the bureau said in the spring that it would need until Oct. 31 to conduct the count and until April 30 to deliver it. But the administration in August abruptly said the count would end Sept. 30 so that apportionment numbers could be delivered to Trump by Dec. 31. The change compressed six months of post-count analysis into less than half that time. That analysis, which includes verifying the data with other sources, is key to ensuring an accurate count.

The American Statistical Association, whose members include several former bureau officials, recently called for greater transparency “precisely because we believe that there will be resistance . . . to releasing the quality indicators so that an assessment can be made regarding the quality of the 2020 count,” said Robert Santos, vice president and chief methodologist at the Urban Institute and president-elect of the ASA.

“The 2020 counts are stacking up to be the most flawed in history, because of the confluence of everything that has occurred,” he said, including “political appointees at the top levels of the Census Bureau, and schedules that leave no time for any genuine quality assurance. It’s crazy. I’m very disheartened.”

“We already know it’s going to be flawed, flawed substantially, to the point that you have to question how flawed it actually is before you can even consider using it,” he said.

Whenever the data from the 2020 Census is released, it will be subject to scrutiny. “A whole group of social scientists and demographers will be ready to grab those data and compare them to independent estimates,” Santos said.

A Census Bureau spokesman said the data for apportionment will be released the same time it is delivered to the president. An FAQ page posted by the bureau on Friday said it is “working hard to process the data in order to deliver complete and accurate state population counts as close to the December 31, 2020, statutory deadline as possible,” raising the possibility that it might deliver them past that date.

Apportionment numbers are scheduled to be presented to the new Congress in early January, and several things could happen next.

The U.S. House could refuse to accept the numbers, said Justin Levitt, a constitutional law professor at Loyola Law School. “You’ve got to produce a full count, legally, and if the president doesn’t, I don’t think that the House of Representatives has to accept anything else,” he said. “Imagine if instead of a full count, the president handed over a Burger King receipt. I don’t think the House of Representatives is required to say, ‘Oh, California gets two Whoppers.’”

Whether the House accepts the numbers Trump delivers, individual states might independently assert the right to contest the number of seats they were awarded, creating chaos and sparking new waves of litigation. Or, depending on the outcome of next month’s elections, the new Congress or a new president could ask for revisions, or even request that a new census be conducted.

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ELECTION 2020



SUSAN WALSH/ASSOCIATED PRESS

President Trump views construction at Shell's petrochemicals complex in Monaca, Pa., in 2019.

Trump infrastructure vows fall short

BY JEFF STEIN

MILWAUKEE — Gerry Winkleman points across the Milwaukee River at the former tannery where he worked for almost two decades as a union welder, repairing blow pipes and net machines that produced thousands of leather shoes and handbags every year.

Winkleman, 74, drives through a stretch of downtown Milwaukee that once served as a hub of U.S. manufacturing, pausing occasionally to note the factories that have either shuttered or moved their production to China over the past three decades: the Pabst and Schlitz breweries; the Allis-Chalmers manufacturing giant; several different tanneries; the Briggs & Stratton foundry; and Kearney & Trecker, which produced milling machines.

Winkleman voted for a Republican presidential candidate for the first time in his life in 2016, largely because of Donald Trump's promise to bring back manufacturing jobs and invest \$1 trillion to rebuild infrastructure in Rust Belt states like Wisconsin. This year, Winkleman will vote for former vice president Joe Biden, a decision sealed in part by Trump's decision to pursue tax cuts — which Winkleman says primarily benefited the rich — over infrastructure investments. Winkleman said he and other members of the building trades were “snookered” by Trump's 2016 promises to rebuild the country.

“He was giving this golden chariot of all that he was going to do. I was hoping my kids and grandkids would see what a prosperous country could look like,” said Winkleman, stopping to point to the aluminum siding he fitted for a hotel skybridge in downtown Milwaukee. “The way [Trump] was talking — it was like he was backing us. It's been a complete farce ever since.”

Trump can claim credit for pursuing and at least partially fulfilling many of his key 2016 economic campaign pledges, such as cutting taxes, slashing government regulations and revamping America's international trade deals. But on one central part of his economic pledge — a massive infrastructure package — the president has much less to boast of on the campaign trail.

After repeatedly touting infrastructure during his 2016 campaign, Trump has through four years in office failed to advance infrastructure legislation through Congress. Under his administration, federal investments on roads and bridges as a share of the economy have remained stagnant, while federal spending on water infrastructure projects have fallen to a 30-year low. Unable to boost infrastructure projects with federal dollars, Trump also has proved unable to meet his 2016 promises to update and upgrade parts of the United States, including roads, ports and airports.

The president's unfulfilled pledges on infrastructure highlight the disconnect between his populist campaign message in 2016 and the results of four years in office governing in partnership with congressional Republicans who partially redefined his economic agenda. Democratic presidential nominee Joe Biden has tried exploiting the issue, repeatedly highlighting infrastructure on the campaign trail in Midwestern states and vowing swift action on the issue if elected.

“We were told and promised Trump would ‘Build America;’ it was supposed to be a lot of money in there, almost \$1 trillion. He talked about it before he got elected, after he got elected, and nothing's happened. They won't vote for him because of that,” Kenneth E. Rigmaiden, president of the International Union of Painters and Allied Trades, said of his members. “Workers can see things are slowing down. Our members are losing work. Infrastructure is a big piece of the business we tend to.”

2016 pledges haven't materialized, creating opening for Biden

Stephen K. Bannon, the president's former top strategist, said in 2016 that Trump's “economic nationalism” would transform the GOP from its alliance with the business lobby to one that backed sweeping government interventions for blue-collar workers. Numerous pollsters and political experts say these appeals to economic populism helped Trump win over traditionally Democratic White working-class voters in the Midwest.

Trump has revamped Republican economic policy in key ways that have upended traditional conservative preferences, approving new American trade deals and pushing the Federal Reserve to lower interest rates. But his populist economic appeals are now undermined by four years in power in which his rhetoric collided with the realities of governance and the constraints imposed by the global economy.

Trump's 2020 campaign has largely abandoned his calls from four years ago on infrastructure. Trump brought up infrastructure as a critical national need during the 2016 presidential debates, his Republican National Convention speech, addresses throughout the Midwest and his inaugural address. In campaign speeches last month in Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Michigan, the president made no mention of repairing crumbling infrastructure or fixing the nation's roads and bridges. Bannon, who boasted “the conservatives are going to go crazy” over Trump's embrace of infrastructure, has been out of the White House since 2017.

Asked about the issue at the Economic Club of New York on Wednesday, Trump blamed congressional Democrats and said infrastructure legislation would pass in his next administration. He also cited the construction of the U.S.-Mexico border wall along the southern border. “We consider that infrastructure,” Trump said. The president has also frequently talked about his administration's deregulatory agenda as clearing federal hurdles to new building projects, including highways.

Trump's standing among the White working class that thrall to his message on infrastructure has eroded. In Pennsylvania, Trump leads Biden by 17 points among White voters without four-year college degrees, who account for about half the state's electorate, according to a Washington Post-ABC poll released last month. Trump won that group by more than 30 points in Pennsylvania in 2016.

The failure of Congress and the Trump administration to provide additional aid to states and localities amid the coronavirus risks adding a further drag on infrastructure investments, setting back work on highways, roads, sewers and other municipal projects already delayed for years.

Mike Vandersteen, the mayor of the small northeastern Wisconsin city of Sheboygan, said he voted for Trump in 2016 in part because he heard the real estate mogul channel his frustration with the inadequacy of the nation's infrastructure. Sheboygan has for years struggled to finance local road repairs, but the city's problems have intensified since 2016. The water levels on Lake Michigan have soared to unexpected and historic highs over the past two years, battering the 100-year-old water intake system on the mouth of the city's coastline. Vandersteen worries the pipes are at risk of being flooded or damaged, imperiling residents' drinking water.

Vandersteen has written to the

campaigns of both Biden and Trump asking for them to commit the federal government to fund \$20 billion for cities along Lake Michigan to mitigate damage from rising coastlines. Neither has agreed to provide the aid the towns along Lake Michigan say is necessary.

“The president talked a lot about infrastructure, and nothing's really come of it yet,” said Vandersteen, who added he is still undecided about whom to support in the 2020 presidential election. “This could really be catastrophic.”

Even many of the White, blue-collar supporters of the president still hope he comes through with a deal. Don Iverson, 50, a logger in western Wisconsin, has for three decades used County Route K and Pray Road to haul red pine trees, white pine trees and oak trees to nearby sawmills. For the past five years, both Route K and Pray Road have been closed to Iverson's trucks. New weight limits have also been imposed on a nearby bridge, on Highway 54. That means Iverson has to cut down his shipments and add another 30 miles' drive each way to the sawmills.

Four of Jackson County's nine loggers have quit or gone out of business, Iverson said, in part because of their struggles with the shoddy town roads. Trucks are now forced to reroute through the city of Black River Falls, which is more expensive and more dangerous due to more congested traffic. Without federal support, a half-dozen Wisconsin town managers say they have no means of repairing the roads or bridges.

“It is a huge added burden on our business. It never used to be like this,” said Iverson, 50, gesturing from his blue Dodge truck to the patchy and uneven splotches of blacktop applied to the town road. “They really need to get it fixed. I have no idea how they expect us to do this.”

The White House needed votes in Congress to approve an infrastructure plan. In the early days of his administration, the president and GOP prioritized repealing the Affordable Care Act and implementing a large tax cut instead of an infrastructure plan. Three former senior administration officials, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe internal deliberations, said there was never a serious discussion at the White House of putting infrastructure at the top of the GOP's legislative to-do list. “Paul Ryan and these guys had waited 30 years for this once-in-a-lifetime chance to cut taxes. They were not going to let that go,” one of them said.

Trump's aides did work for months on an infrastructure package, eventually producing a package in 2018 with only \$200 billion in new government spending stretched out over 10 years that relied heavily on leveraging additional private financing through “public-private partnerships.” Trump was ambivalent about the plan for private-public partnerships and even criticized it in front of the aides who developed it. Advisers believed that such a large package would not be acceptable to congressional Republicans as they and the White House struggled to agree on how to pay for an infrastructure bill.

In 2018, White House officials thought House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) was willing to reach a bipartisan agreement on infrastructure, but talks collapsed amid partisan arguments over the impeachment inquiry. White House officials also did not believe Senate Minority Leader Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.) was willing to give the president a victory on infrastructure spending. Congressional Democrats have said they were willing to make a deal as early as 2017 on infrastructure.

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Josh Dawsey contributed to this report.

wp BrandStudio

CONTENT FROM WINDOW NATION

Why better windows are the key to going green

This article is the second installment of “Windows 101,” a series of stories from Window Nation and WP BrandStudio that demystifies homeowners' biggest questions about window repair.



There is a secret culprit widening the average person's carbon footprint and causing them to use more energy than they need, without them even realizing it. And it's their windows.

About one-third of residential energy use occurs due to heat escaping from or entering through windows, which leads people to crank up their thermostats or air conditioners and use more electricity. And with 87% of people wanting to live a more sustainable lifestyle, a better set of windows can be exactly what homeowners need.

As people have become more aware of their impact on the environment, it's become common for them to look for ways to make their homes more eco-friendly. Aaron Magden, president and co-founder of window installation brand Window Nation, noted that customers' desire for eco-friendly window options has become “a steady and consistent trend.”

Another key draw to sustainable homes is the financial benefit they offer. A typical U.S. household spends \$2,000 per year on energy bills and cost-conscious homeowners can save about 30% of that by making environmentally-safe updates.

Comfort is also a desirable quality of energy-efficient homes, according to Sandy Adomatis, a residential real estate appraiser who specializes in green properties. Her clients are drawn to the prospect of having better indoor air quality and more livable temperatures that are consistent throughout a home; poor windows can make it hard for homeowners to regulate temperature, which is often different from one room to the next.

“You [should be able to] stand in front of your picture window without having a jacket on,” Adomatis said.



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A mother and her son seek a path out

FLOYD FROM A1

future for her son Daniel Hunt remains precarious. His goal of making it out of Houston's oldest public housing project on a football scholarship echoes Floyd's journey nearly three decades ago. She knew Floyd as a "gentle giant," and his face, now emblazoned on neighborhood murals, serves as a solemn warning of the obstacles ahead for Daniel.

"Sports was supposed to have saved him," Gibson said of Floyd. "I told my son: 'That is you. That is you all day, every day.'"

Daniel had been accepted to a historically Black Christian college a three-hour drive away in Tyler, Tex., on the prospect of an athletic scholarship. But the novel coronavirus halted those plans. With college turning to virtual classes until at least January and the football season canceled, so, too, was his chance to escape a neighborhood that, by design, remains segregated from opportunity.

Decades of government-sanctioned housing discrimination reverberate through this city. In one of the nation's most diverse metropolises, much of the housing occupied by low-income Black families is segregated into the shape of a backward "C" around the city center, pierced by wealthier, whiter neighborhoods to the west that form the shape of an arrow.

The pattern, formed by Jim Crow-era policies dictating where African Americans could live, is cemented today by state law allowing landlords to discriminate against Section 8 voucher holders, weak enforcement of federal civil rights laws promoting integration and White residents' objections to the construction of affordable housing in affluent communities.

Children growing up in segregated, low-income neighborhoods like the one surrounding Cuney Homes are exposed to more crime and heavier policing, researchers have found. They are also more likely to attend struggling schools, resulting in lower college attendance and future earnings.

This was the reality Floyd faced when he left Cuney Homes for college in 1993 on an athletic scholarship. He neither graduated nor was drafted into professional sports, landing back in Third Ward four years later, a towering figure well-liked by residents and well-known to police.

It is against these same hurdles that Gibson has raised her son to adulthood.

As soon as he took his two birthday cakes out of the oven to cool, Daniel headed toward the door. Friends were on their way to pick him up for a haircut. Gibson hid her disappointment and pulled him in for a hug, squeezing him tight as he tried to dodge the kiss she planted on his cheek. He playfully knuckled her head. She asked how much money he needed.

"Twenty," he said.

"Why so much? You going to cut it all off?" Gibson was not a fan of her son's mini-fro or the streak of bleach on the side. She had always kept his hair shorn short.

"Because I'm a grown man now and pay grown man prices," Daniel said, smiling.

"You know a grown man pays his own way. A grown man pays the mortgage. A grown man does his own laundry and work," Gibson retorted, only partly in jest.

Minutes later, a Cadillac SUV pulled up. Daniel jumped in as his mother followed behind with a \$20 bill. She peered into the passenger window and opened the back doors, checking to see who was inside. She made a mental note to ask him about two faces she did not recognize.

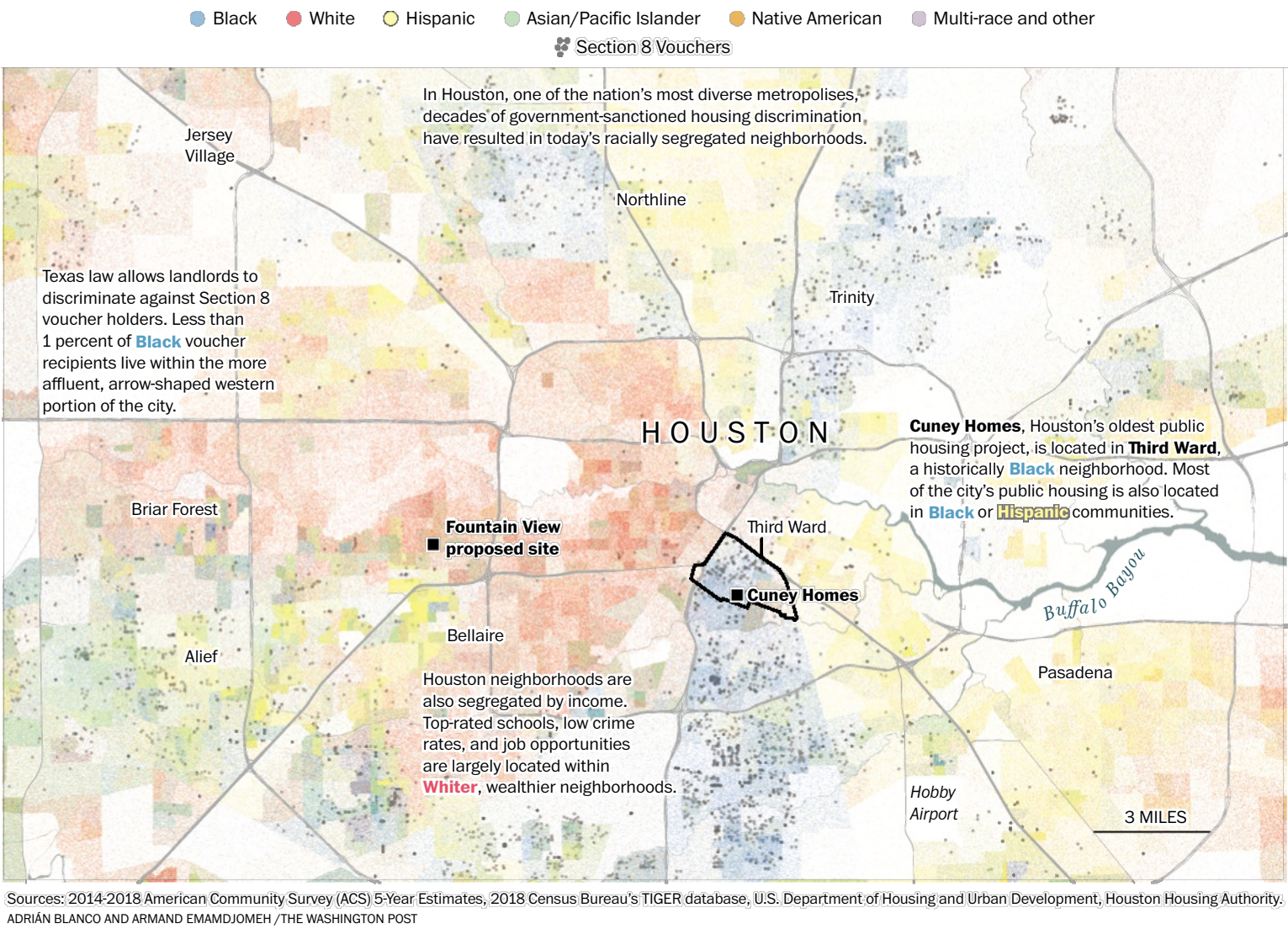
Since moving into Cuney Homes nine years ago, Gibson has kept a vigilant eye on her youngest child, awaiting his safe return every time he left for school, football practice or the corner store.

She knows it is time to relinquish control, but her anxiety has only grown since Floyd's death. Her son's life, she fears, could end the same way, calling out for his mama as he takes his final breaths. So she remains on the lookout, in what she fears will be a futile effort to shield her 6-foot-1, 190-pound child from neighborhood troubles as he yearns to break free.

"Instead of worrying about his future, I worry about him daily. It's almost like we're in survival mode," said the 50-year-old single



Kimberly Gibson, who raised her son Daniel Hunt as a single mother, prays with him outside their Cuney Homes apartment. "Instead of worrying about his future, I worry about him daily. It's almost like we're in survival mode," she says of life in the Houston housing project.



mother of four. "I have a Black child I have to take care of now more so than ever."

Whenever Daniel walks to the bus stop, she picks up the binoculars she keeps by the front window and tracks his lanky frame as he passes Texas Southern University, Jack Yates High School, the remodeled wood-framed homes that were flipped after foreclosure and the fast-food joints in the distance, until she can see him no more.

Beyond 'the walls'

Cuney Homes opened in 1940 to house African American porters, maids, chauffeurs and other low-wage workers, some of whom were forced to move from Houston's oldest Black community because city leaders wanted to raze their dwellings in the name of "slum clearance" and develop public housing for Whites in the more desirable tracts bordering downtown.

The 553-unit housing project named for Norris Wright Cuney, a Black politician born to an enslaved mother and a White planter, lies along Alabama Street, once the line separating Black neighborhoods from White ones in Third Ward. Black domestics and drivers could cross the divide to work for White, predominantly Jewish families, but had to return to their side of town by sundown.

Whites began moving out of the area after Texas State University for Negroes, now called Texas Southern University, was constructed across the street from Cuney Homes in 1947. The state legislature created the historically Black college to avoid integrating the University of Texas.

At the time, there was little stigma attached to public housing as young Black families and new arrivals seeking jobs in Houston temporarily settled in the well-maintained complex while saving to buy their own houses. Attitudes began to shift in the 1970s, when integration made it possible for middle-class Black families to move to the suburbs, and this part of Third Ward lost many of its businesses and services. Pockets of poverty developed as neighbor-

hood economics changed.

By the time George Floyd arrived in Houston from North Carolina as a preschooler in 1977 with his mother and siblings, the state legislature had designated Texas Southern a "special purpose" university for "urban programming." Among the university's goals: to create a national model for addressing generational poverty, using neighboring Cuney Homes as a laboratory.

Researchers were enlisted to help reduce crime rates and police violence, raise student achievement and improve health standards, said Anthony W. Hall Jr., the former Texas state representative who wrote the 1973 bill. For two years, the state gave the university extra money to increase faculty salaries and attract expert talent, he said. TSU's special designation remains on the books, but it's no longer supported by additional state funding.

"This was supposed to be a grand experiment showing the

nation how poverty can be transformed, how you can take people from public housing to a law degree, to being a principal, to being a pharmacist," said Rodney Ellis, a longtime state senator who is now a Harris County commissioner. "How do you get a George Floyd to think beyond the walls of that housing project?"

Nearly 50 years after Texas Southern adopted its urban mission, not much has changed for impoverished Black Houstonians who remain isolated from opportunity.

For generations, federal and local housing policies have perpetuated racial economic inequality.

Highway projects carving up Third Ward displaced Black homeowners. Discrimination in mortgage lending through redlining — a government-condoned practice of refusing home loans in minority neighborhoods marked "hazardous" with red ink — allowed White families to accumu-

late wealth in homes that appreciated in value while Black families were denied.

Discrimination by lenders and landlords persists today, even after the 1968 Fair Housing Act made such practices illegal. Federal data and other research reveal that banks deny Black and Hispanic borrowers conventional mortgage loans or charge them higher fees and interest rates than White borrowers with similar credit profiles. And Black low-income renters face more difficulty than White low-income renters accessing housing in affluent neighborhoods with high-performing schools and other resources, according to civil rights complaints.

While there have been attempts in Houston to address the disparities caused by deeply entrenched racism, including housing vouchers and federal directives to desegregate neighborhoods, success remains elusive — like a mother's efforts to protect

her Black son from his surroundings while looking for a way out.

No other choice

Gibson was 32 and a mother of three when she gave birth to 8-pound baby Daniel in 2002. They were living in an apartment near Houston's medical center in a diverse, working-class neighborhood just north of where she had grown up. She was getting by, working minimum-wage jobs at a boutique hotel and its restaurant while taking classes at a community college in hopes of getting into nursing school.

Life shifted during the Great Recession, when Gibson was laid off. Rent had already risen from \$650 to \$1,000 a month after a new stadium was built for the Texans, Houston's pro football team. She could no longer afford to live in the gentrifying neighborhood and was evicted after falling behind on payments. Gibson sent her three teenage children to live with relatives. But Daniel was her baby, and she was his only parent. She and Daniel slept in her 1997 Honda Civic in a Walmart parking lot, then moved into a homeless shelter for two years. She continued going to school and picked up side jobs catering, bartending and babysitting.

Daniel was 8 years old when he and his mother moved into Cuney Homes, where Gibson's grandmother has lived since selling the aging house in which Gibson was raised to an "I buy ugly homes" outfit in 1995.

Sirens and police helicopters circling overhead kept Gibson awake at night for the first few months. She had never heard gunshots before moving here. Driven by the guilt of having to raise her youngest son in an environment she deemed too dangerous, Gibson shelved her college and career goals to keep a close watch on him and his schooling, doing everything to ensure that he graduated. She never made it into nursing school, picking up occasional secretarial work through a temp agency instead.

"I stopped living 18 years ago," Gibson said. "I don't go out. I don't date. I don't have a life because I'm so busy with Daniel."

Aside from school and sports, the shy boy with a stutter spent his childhood in their two-bedroom apartment, drawing superheroes and playing with Hot Wheels. He was allowed to play with friends around the front porch, but Gibson made sure he never strayed far from the concrete steps without her.

"I told him, 'Daniel, you know what goes on in the hood. You don't want to get caught up in the system. Once you get caught up in the system, it will ruin your dreams,'" she said.

She pushed him into athletics to keep him out of trouble, for a shot at college and a way out of "The Bricks," as residents refer to Cuney Homes. She enrolled him in four sports — football, baseball, basketball, and track and field — including a youth league in the wealthy suburban enclave of Sugar Land, where she took him for football practice and games five days a week "so he could be with different kids instead of the kids here raising themselves."

When Daniel reached sixth grade, she chose an all-boys charter school more than an hour away by two buses, on the south side of town. He remained there through high school, even though the neighboring public school, Jack Yates High, which Floyd had attended, had a renowned athletic program.

"Academics are tops for me," Gibson said. "It's not so much making it to the NFL; it's getting out of the hood and getting educated."

A couple years ago, Gibson was on the porch watching her son play basketball when she heard gunshots and saw a man limping toward her. She recognized the victim as the uncle of one of Daniel's friends. She ran toward him and tied his shirt tight around his leg to stem the bleeding until an ambulance arrived. Then she and a neighbor scrubbed the blood from the concrete with bleach and hot water.

Luckily, Daniel had fled to safety. Mother and son have long had a plan for when shootings erupt at the basketball court. Because guns are more likely to be fired from a car for a quick getaway, Gibson always instructed Daniel to run away from the parking lot to her grandmother's apartment.

Months later, Daniel was grabbing a Gatorade at the corner store when once again, the pop, pop, pop of gunshots rang out. By the time he stepped outside, a young man in a wheelchair had been hit, another unintended victim. After that, Daniel no longer wanted to go to the store, instead writing his mother a list of things to buy — pineapple juice, gummy bears, nacho cheese Doritos.

Those felled by gun violence are memorialized on the back wall of the corner store, their names etched in marker on brick after brick. "Endangered Species,"



Cuney Homes, which opened in 1940 to house African American porters, maids, chauffeurs and other low-wage workers, underwent a major renovation in 1992, George Floyd's last year in high school.

someone painted alongside white doves and cherubs. “Black Man You’re a Beast. Hood Cry Out.” A new mural honoring “Big Floyd” covers an adjoining wall. Across the street, where neighbors used to gather in a dirt lot and gossip in the shade of a pecan tree, a fence has been erected in response to the recent rise in shootings.

“He can’t stay here. He cannot,” Gibson said. “But we have no other choice.”

Because the apartment buildings all look the same, they are easy to confuse, she said. People used to knock on her door at all hours of the night, asking for a drug dealer who does not live there. “You don’t know if they’re trying to break into your house or actually looking for that person,” she said. “Even the police get confused.”

She lives in fear that police will mistake her son for another tall, slender, young Black man. After all, police had handcuffed Daniel last summer when a teenage neighbor accused him of spraying mace in his face. Gibson, who had just arrived home from the grocery store, said she showed the officers her cellphone to prove that her son had been talking to her at the time of the alleged incident.

“I tried to keep my cool. I wanted to say, ‘Hey, don’t put those handcuffs on him.’ I don’t want him to experience that at 16 years old for something he didn’t do,” Gibson said. “Here, you cannot go against the police because the next thing you know, housing will try to evict you.”

Daniel kept his composure, as his mother taught him, and the police let him go after questioning the accuser in more detail. They never apologized or acknowledged their mistake in any way. The incident, Gibson said, left her even more paranoid about her son’s safety.

Despite the dangers, or because of them, longtime residents say they’ve tried to maintain a strong sense of community, watching out for one another and helping to raise each other’s children and grandchildren.

“But if they got a Section 8 voucher, they moved out,” said Veronica A. DeBoest, the 67-year-old resident council president who has lived in Cuney Homes for 30 years. “You have to go on the waitlist, and it’s way longer than the list to get in here.”

Gibson said she’s tried at least four times to apply for a coveted Section 8 housing voucher, federal rent subsidies for privately owned apartments and houses. The program, established in 1974, is supposed to give recipients a choice of where to live and break up the concentration of poverty. But she’s never even managed to make it onto the waiting list.

In 2016, the last time the Houston Housing Authority opened the waiting list, nearly 69,000 families applied for 30,000 slots, drawn by computerized lottery. Once on the list, it can take another five to 10 years to land a voucher because of low turnover; 25,571 households are still waiting today.

While some view Section 8 vouchers as the golden ticket in low-income housing, recipients are often relegated to the same impoverished, segregated communities they may be trying to flee.

In Houston, less than 1 percent of Black voucher recipients live within the arrow-shaped western portion of the city closest to top-rated schools and strong job prospects, according to a Washington Post analysis of Houston Housing Authority data.

Landlords are not required to accept Section 8 vouchers. The Texas legislature passed a law in 2015 prohibiting cities from adopting ordinances that would have barred landlords from discriminating against renters based on source of income.

Gibson said she would like a voucher so she could move back to the neighborhood where she was raised. Other Cuney residents say they would try to stay in gentrifying Third Ward, but rents outside public housing are becoming unaffordable, even with government subsidies.

The percentage of White residents in Third Ward has more than doubled since 2000, now accounting for 17 percent of the population, according to city planning data. So, too, has the area’s median household income, growing from \$14,500 a year in 2000 to \$34,000 in 2017 as new townhouses sprang up.

“When I first moved here, if you were White, you were only here to buy drugs,” Gibson said. Now, she waves to smiling White neighbors jogging, biking and walking their dogs in the blocks surrounding Cuney Homes, where many Black residents do not feel the same sense of ease.

Daniel said he recognizes that every mother wants their sons to “get out of the ghetto,” but over time, he has grown attached to Cuney Homes, where neighbors bring each other food and share their laptop computers with him.



JOSHUA LOTT FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Daniel and his mother shop for vanilla icing and rainbow sprinkles at Walmart to decorate the cakes they made for his 18th birthday. Still struggling to recover from the covid-19 she contracted in June, she will not partake of the cakes because her sense of taste has not returned.



JOSHUA LOTT FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

As much as his mother wants him to get out of Cuney Homes, the housing complex is to Daniel simply home, a place where people share food and their laptops. “I want to leave but . . . I don’t,” he said.

It is, simply, home.

“I want to leave but . . . I don’t,” Daniel said. “I’m grown up and can handle myself now.”

Inside the arrow

The Houston Housing Authority thought it had come up with a remedy for the legacy of racial segregation when it proposed building affordable housing in a prosperous, predominantly White community in the shadow of the glittering Galleria shopping district.

The Fountain View apartments would have been the agency’s first subsidized housing development to give the poorest families, including Cuney Homes residents, a shot at living within “the arrow.”

“It was a chance at a better life, a chance we were never given,” said Travis Cains, a bail bondsman who grew up with Floyd in Cuney Homes and considered Floyd a little brother.

But hundreds of residents, most of whom were White, packed a school gymnasium on a stormy night in 2016 to voice their objections before the housing authority board. Neighbor after neighbor cited their fears of lower property values, increased crime and traffic, and school overcrowding.

“If I hand you a group of 40 grapes and I tell you that two of them are poison, how many of

those grapes are you going to eat?” said a man with wavy, white hair, according to a video recording of the meeting. “So affordable housing, great. It’s wonderful to have compassion. But I think if we look around our country, much of the compassion has led to problems.”

When the head of the housing authority pointed to economic research showing that a child from a low-income family who grows up in a more affluent neighborhood can increase their lifetime earnings by more than \$300,000, groans from the audience drowned him out.

The project was ultimately blocked by Houston Mayor Sylvester Turner, a Black Democrat, who cited costs — not community opposition — despite the federal government’s allocation of tens of millions of dollars for construction. The Fountain View failure prompted the Obama administration to launch a fair housing investigation and declare that the city had violated civil rights law in perpetuating segregation.

“Facts demonstrate that the Mayor’s decision was based in part on racially motivated local opposition,” the Department of Housing and Urban Development wrote in January 2017 during the final days of the Obama presidency. “The City has an established pattern of failing to site or sup-

port affordable housing projects in predominantly white neighborhoods.”

HUD initially ordered Houston to reverse course or face federal sanctions. But the agency, which has rolled back fair-housing rules and investigations under President Trump, softened its stance in 2018, withdrawing its earlier findings of discrimination and merely suggesting that the city build affordable housing in “high opportunity” areas like the Galleria instead of mandating it.

Turner, in a statement to The Post, said he has asked the housing authority to look for alternative locations for affordable housing that still have “access to good public services, quality schools, and businesses.” The agency said it has recently acquired or built four such developments within “the arrow” in which half the units are set at varying levels of affordability.

While many Cuney residents say they would have welcomed the opportunity to move to Fountain View, others like Gibson say the decision is not so simple. Being a Black person in a White world comes with its own dangers, she said, so she has little choice but to make do with the circumstances she knows.

“I’ve been discriminated against at every age for being a Black girl — from police yelling at

me to ‘Get out of the street, nigger!’ when I was riding my bike, to the White managers in my jobs not letting me move up,” Gibson said. “If those people don’t want us there, why go there?”

A life on hold

“Daniel! Daniel!” Gibson yelled from the living room, where she’s been sleeping in an inverted dome chair while recovering from covid-19. “Did you forget what you were supposed to do?”

It was the morning of his 18th birthday, four weeks into his freshman year at Texas College, where he’s been taking virtual classes.

Daniel, still groggy, walked downstairs and sat next to his mother to review his class schedule. Gibson worries that her son is not the strongest student, so she tries to teach him organization and keep him on task. She pulled out a paper calendar and had Daniel write the starting time of each class in the boxes.

“Did you set up Zoom on your phone? Put down COSC, for computer science,” she prompted. He yawned.

A separate dry-erase calendar hanging on his bedroom wall plots his daily activities and responsibilities. Gibson organizes her son’s schoolwork in a color-coded binder with dividers for each subject, tracking his academics as closely as she tracks his movements and friends. She types up all his handwritten assignments for him because she cannot stand to see him pecking the keyboard with one finger.

With his freshman year and football season suspended because of the pandemic, Daniel grasps at what he can these days to stay connected to the future he envisions for himself. That means working out in the mornings, then logging onto virtual classes from his bedroom adorned with trophies and medals from his days as a high school wide receiver.

In his football class, his coach talks to the team about leadership and current events, interspersing discussions about systemic racism with goal-setting. Disembodied voices echo from Daniel’s cracked cellphone because he’s too embarrassed by his appearance to turn on the video feed.

This was not how he envisioned the start of his freedom. Already his high school years ended without fanfare because of the coronavirus. No graduation or

celebration with friends; not even a picture in a cap and gown.

“For my whole life, I’ve seen football as my way out. This is my talent,” Daniel said. “Now, everything is on hold.”

He enrolled at Texas College because the private school was the cheapest one he got into with a football program. Tuition, including room and board, is \$18,000 a year. He’s received \$6,300 in Pell grants, which he was counting on supplementing with a football scholarship and a campus job. But no football season means no football money. And without being on campus, he’s not eligible for a work-study job this term.

Loans are not an option, Gibson said, because she still owes more than \$5,000 plus interest in student loan debt from her four years in community college — with no degree.

Before the pandemic, Gibson had been volunteering in Houston public schools, chaperoning field trips, loading students onto school buses, photocopying handouts for teachers, while looking for work she could do from home. Her options were limited, she said, because employers did not understand why it was important for her to be home by 4 p.m. to meet her son after school.

Gibson contracted the coronavirus in early June but never went to the hospital — “Who’s going to watch Daniel?” Months later, she still wakes up sweaty with a fever many nights, even though she’s cranked her air conditioning down to 65 degrees and sleeps upright with frozen bottles of water lining the back and sides of her chair. Some days she is so fatigued she does not get up. And when she does, she gets winded, like a weight is pressing against her chest, her lungs on fire.

Even then, she spends at least three hours a day job-hunting and scouring for scholarships. She recently missed two interviews for customer service call center jobs because the Internet was down. She’s applied for dozens of scholarships in Daniel’s name.

Her sacrifices were validated recently when the school district called and asked her to pick up a large white envelope. When Daniel arrived home, he pulled out a sepia-toned document bearing his name, “Daniel Renoard Hunt.” He held the textured paper between his fingers, admiring it for several minutes as a smile crept up the side of his mouth.

“This is my diploma,” Gibson exclaimed. “We earned this together.”

The day after he turned 18, his first full day as a man, Daniel wanted rainbow sprinkles and vanilla frosting for the birthday cakes his mother had made but never decorated because he’d gone out with friends. At Walmart, Daniel scanned the aisles for snacks, his voice rising an octave as he argued with Gibson over the energy drinks, chips and candy he placed in the shopping cart.

“I told you about dropping stuff in my cart without a price,” Gibson scolded as she fished the packages out.

When they reached the cashier, Gibson reminded her son that she’s only a three-hour Greyhound bus ride away if he ever needed her to come up to Tyler once he moves to campus in January. He grimaced.

“His birthday was yesterday,” Gibson explained to the cashier. “He thinks he’s grown.”

The cashier, a woman in her 50s, turned to Daniel. “How much you turn?”

His voice deepened. “Eighteen.”

“Oh yeah, that’s that age,” she replied knowingly.

Gibson could not resist interjecting: “A grown man cleans his room. . . .”

“What’s your major?” the cashier asked.

“Athletics.” She and Gibson chuckled incredulously.

“Don’t you have a backup?” she said.

He hesitated. “Baseball?”

“What happens if you break your leg?”

Daniel did not respond.

Gibson turned to thank the woman for reinforcing the points she regularly makes about his future — but that Daniel dismisses.

“Pray for us,” she implored.

Then mother and son headed home to decorate his birthday cakes, a quiet moment that she knew held more significance for her than for Daniel.

But Gibson did not eat any of the sheet cake, with the vanilla frosting and rainbow-colored star sprinkles. The coronavirus had robbed her sense of taste. So she sent Daniel on his way, to share their creation with his friends — without her.

She wanted him to enjoy being 18. She wanted her son to be free.

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JOSHUA LOTT FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Young Cuney Homes residents pose on their bicycles in June this year. Their Third Ward neighborhood is beginning to gentrify.



EARLIE HUDNALL JR.

Young residents of Cuney Homes in 1989, the year George Floyd entered high school. It has long been known as “The Bricks.”

ELECTION 2020

Officials in Erie brace for chaotic vote count

ERIE FROM A1

confident this election will work. They trust the sheriff to handle any unrest or intimidation, and they think the voters will make themselves heard at the ballot box, not in the streets.

“I tell Erie County people, ‘Relax, there’s checks and balances and a competent staff,’ ” Salmon said. “It’s America — we’re always arguing about basics. This is another grand experiment.”

With two weeks left in a campaign many fear will feature unprecedented efforts to manipulate, suppress and challenge votes, much of the nation is on edge. Will Election Day go smoothly, without intimidation of voters? How long will it take to process the flood of mail-in ballots coming from people seeking to avoid exposure to the novel coronavirus? And when will the nation know who won?

Much attention has focused on the endgame in Washington and rarely invoked laws that govern how Congress and federal courts decide which contested votes ultimately count. But before any challenge reaches the nation’s capital, election officials in 3,141 counties must tally local ballots, a process that could be unusually lengthy this year, creating an opportunity for those who want to question or alter the outcome.

Nowhere are those issues more pressing than in Erie County, a Rust Belt relic with harsh winters and a lovely lakefront. Pennsylvania law forbids counting mail-in ballots — or even opening the envelopes — before Election Day. The winner may not be known for days after the polls close, with a Nov. 23 deadline for reporting the final count to the state.

And Erie is very much up for grabs: Biden visited this month, appearing in front of a union hall where he blasted Trump for the uneven economic recovery. Trump, who has held two rallies in the city since taking office, plans to visit again Tuesday evening in hopes of reprising his 2016 performance, when his appeal to nostalgia, resentment and the desire to shake up Washington made him the first Republican to carry the county since Ronald Reagan in 1984.

Four years ago, Pennsylvania produced Trump’s second-smallest victory margin — only Michigan was closer. In Erie, which had almost 20,000 more registered Democrats than Republicans among its 280,000 residents, Trump beat Hillary Clinton by just 1,957 votes.

This year, Trump has a 50 percent to 47 percent lead in Erie and other western Pennsylvania counties outside Allegheny, a Democratic stronghold that includes Pittsburgh, according to the most recent Washington Post-ABC News poll. In 2016, Trump won the area by 29 points.

The people in charge of making this election run smoothly say they can feel the difference.

“The anxiety is definitely higher than I’ve seen,” said Douglas Smith, Erie’s elections chief. “Our office has become a call center, just constant emails and calls and people coming to vote at the counter. We’re hopping.”

“This is an election like no other,” said Sheriff John Loomis, whose computer screen tells a story of nervous anticipation — emails and Facebook pages that reek of intimidation, that allude to “unrest or that some individuals might want to slow the voting down.”

“The worry is the unknown,” Loomis said. “Nobody knows how everybody else is going to react, whichever way it goes.”

In a county of small towns where families trace their roots back for generations, Election Day has always been a kind of secular holy day.

“Usually, you go to vote, you have a nice day, you buy some bread from the ladies’ auxiliary at the polling place,” said Brian Shank, a Republican county council member who organized a road parade for Trump last month.

“This will not be a normal Election Day,” Shank said. “This year, you have people who want to intimidate.”

Shank, a former corrections officer and DJ, gained prominence in the county in 2012, when he and other gun advocates wore firearms — in his case, a holstered .45 — into a city park



PHOTOS BY BONNIE JO MOUNT/THE WASHINGTON POST

to assert the right to carry openly. But he said there’s a right time and place for everything.

“I am not a big fan of the AR-15 slung across your back,” he said. “Optically, it just doesn’t sell well.”

On Election Day and through the uncertain days that follow, Justin Dillon, a pro-gun activist who lives in Erie, said he and other armed members of his Open Carry Pennsylvania group “will be monitoring to make sure people are safe and businesses aren’t looted. There’s little townships in the county that don’t have adequate policing to handle riots. Citizens at some point have to take matters into their own hands.”

Dillon and his fellow open-carry advocates say they may position themselves outside voting centers that don’t normally see much police presence. The idea is to support Trump and assure no one interferes with the election, they said, not to confront law enforcement or inhibit voters.

“People are going to be around while votes are cast as a statement that they’re supportive of Second Amendment rights,” Dillon said. “We really don’t want to scare people off from voting in person because that’s the most secure way to vote.”

The county’s elected officials, Democrats and Republicans alike, agree that a polling station is no place for a show of force. But no one has figured out how to stop it. Loomis has just 42 deputies to cover 149 polling places, and it’s not clear they could do much about armed observers anyway. Maybe just ask them to respect the sanctity of the day and back away.

“They’re asserting their legal

right to carry,” Loomis said. “But for people who are not carrying weapons, that can be intimidating. Everybody knows right now we’re not living under normal circumstances.”

The potential exists for a clash of rights, said Smith, the elections chief: “If there are 20 armed people outside a polling place who are just standing around being pleasant, that’s not violent. But certainly some people would find that intimidating. Everybody’s on heightened alert.”

That alert only spiked when several county residents reported finding plastic bags on their driveways or doorsteps filled with racist fliers saying that Black Lives Matters activists are “running wild in the streets,” that a Democratic victory will “assure complete destruction” of constitutional rights and that “Blacks owe Whites an apology.”

Some of the letters were anonymous; others bore the signature of the Loyal White Knights, a Ku Klux Klan group based in North Carolina. The organization’s leaders did not respond to calls seeking comment.

Shank, the county councilman, said he hopes Dillon and other open-carry advocates will reconsider bringing their guns to the polls. But he understands that passions are running strong.

“I can boil this all down to one word — angry,” he said. “This country is angry, and I don’t know why. We have a great country. We have all these freedoms people in other countries just don’t have.”

For all the talk about intimidation, few in Erie expect violence. On the contrary, there’s a sense that the anxiety reflects the

hopped-up national news narrative more than any homegrown effort to disrupt the vote.

The nightmare scenarios voters hear about on TV and online have combined with the coronavirus to create doubt and worry, said Greg Hayes, a Republican candidate for state legislature and owner of a flight school in Erie.

Hayes anticipates “a monstrous delay in counting, and that will make people’s imaginations go wild,” he said. “The mind-set of people has really changed because of this covid stuff. They’re locked in at home, especially older voters who are very easily persuaded that there’s going to be a problem. They’re watching TV and hearing stories from around the country about ballots disappearing or people receiving two or three ballots. The local confidence in the election is very low.”

It’s not Election Day that worries most county officials. It’s the next stage — the count.

This spring, in the primary, it took 10 days for the county elections office to count about 30,000 mail-in ballots. With more than 70,000 expected this time around, Erie officials have hired up, going from eight to 15 workers opening envelopes and feeding ballots into the tallying machines. They’ve added hours — counting will start each day at 7 a.m., three hours earlier than during the primary. And they’ve added machines, including a second high-speed scanner to read ballots and an automatic letter opener that can unseal 20,000 ballots per hour, Smith said.

Each envelope takes about 90 seconds to scan and prepare for counting, work that Smith would love to do ahead of time. But a

state law prohibits opening and preparing mail-in envelopes for tallying before Election Day and counting those ballots before the polls close. So far, neither lawmakers nor the courts have approved a change to the rules.

All that work will take place in counting rooms jammed with people trying to oversee every move. Salmon said Republicans will deploy an army of poll watchers, lawyers and count observers. Wertz said Democrats will do the same, with more than 200 volunteers around the county and two shifts of observers in the counting rooms.

The scene can look chaotic and crowded, but it works, Republicans and Democrats agree. “We do everything in our power to keep each vote, even if the signature is sloppy and it’s changed over 15 years,” said county councilman Shank, who acts, along with his fellow council members, as Erie’s board of elections.

Still, every day a final count is delayed could undermine trust in the outcome, many in the county say.

“The integrity of the vote is going to be questioned,” said Dillon, the open-carry activist. “It doesn’t make sense that we have to wait weeks before learning who won.”

Despite the drive to accelerate the count, “they’re so far from having the resources they need, it’s not even funny,” Hayes, the Republican legislative candidate, said after meeting with local police chiefs and election officials. “If we get an answer within three weeks, I’ll be surprised.”

Prepare to be surprised, Smith said. He hopes to finish by Nov. 6, the Friday after Election Day,

well ahead of the Nov. 12 deadline by which he must report unofficial results to the state and the Nov. 23 deadline by which county elections boards must certify final, official results to Pennsylvania’s secretary of state.

In nightmare scenarios that climax with Congress and the Supreme Court playing a role in picking the next president, things go kablooeey in the final stage of each county’s role — when the county formally submits its tally to the state, which uses that tally to choose electors, who are then sent to Washington pledged to vote for the candidate who won their state’s popular vote.

If Erie — or any county — misses the deadline, the Republican-controlled state legislature could declare that Pennsylvanians failed to complete their vote, allowing lawmakers to choose electors on their own. The Republican majority presumably would pick electors pledged to Trump.

Whether the state’s Democratic governor, Tom Wolf, could block that choice or pick his own slate of electors is a matter of dispute even among election lawyers.

But if Erie is representative of Pennsylvania’s 67 counties, Smith and other top officials don’t see how this election could open the door to such extraordinary maneuvering in Harrisburg, the state capital.

“The scrutiny will be on a grand scale, but I don’t see any legal foundation for that fear,” Smith said. “We report the results to the state Department of State, and they report the results and appoint the electors. There will be no legal role for the legislature.”

Still, some Democrats worry Republicans “want to run out the clock and appoint electors based on their gerrymandered majority,” as Ryan Bizzarro, a Democratic state legislator from Erie, put it. Republicans deny any such intent.

“We are every bit as divided as Washington,” Bizzarro said, pointing to a recent effort by Republicans to grant the legislature power to subpoena ballots and elections officials even as the count progresses. Republicans withdrew that proposal, but mutual suspicions have not abated.

In Erie, both sides contend they will eke out a narrow win, and both sides say they’ll do it cleanly, if under an unusually powerful microscope of inspection.

“If Trump wins, a lot of Democrats will say ‘fake, fake,’” Shank said. “If he loses, there’s going to be a lot of noise about mail shenanigans. But I truly, truly believe the system works. It’s going to be smooth.”

Smith, the elections chief, said he probably won’t get a full night’s sleep for several weeks. But he also isn’t expecting any nightmares.

“All we can do is plan and be ready and take it as it comes,” Smith said. “I have faith, based on how prepared we are and our added staff and equipment. I do have faith that it’ll work out.”

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TOP: Volunteer Kristie Feidler sorts literature at the Erie County Democratic Party office in Pennsylvania on Thursday. The county is a crucial area in the presidential election, and both parties will be watching the polls closely. **ABOVE:** Erie County Republican Party Chairman Verel Salmon, left, socializes with Trump supporter Chris Work during a gathering Thursday. Salmon said Republicans will deploy an army of poll watchers, lawyers and count observers for Election Day and the tallying of votes.

Polling leads aren’t a guarantee of victory, experts warn

POLLS FROM A1

visceral and widespread, unassuaged by Biden’s lead in the polls. “Because of what happened to us in 2016, folks still remain cautious,” said Michigan Democratic Party Chair Lavora Barnes. “Nobody is taking anything for granted, even the folks that we’re meeting at doors and talking to on the phones.” With the benefit of hindsight, even the most partisan tacticians caution that the election result remains unknown. Polling, which has consistently shown Biden well ahead and en route to winning in the electoral college, is but a snapshot, with a built-in margin of error that can go either way or not at all. Voting may have begun, but there are still weeks to go, and voters have changed their minds before.

“I don’t know anyone in my Democratic pollster world who is sitting 100 percent comfortably or anything like that,” said Nick Gourevitch, a partner at Global Strategy Group who has been polling on the presidential race. “Biden seems in better shape, but it is still a polarized country and a Trump win is still within the realm of possibility.”

This uncertainty has become a point of leverage for Trump, who has always dismissed polls that reflect badly on him as “fake” efforts to suppress his voters. It has also become a rallying cry for Democrats, who have been warning the country — and their own voters — against complacency.

Privately, Trump’s advisers are less bullish than the boss, admitting that he is behind in several key states. But they believe he can close the gap over the next 15 days, and have no interest in broadcasting anything short of certainty.

“The mainstream news media has spent the last four years trying to destroy and defeat President Trump, so why would anyone put faith in polling paid for by these same organizations?” Trump campaign spokesman Tim Murtaugh said. “The president is going to be reelected.”

On the Biden side, the creeping sense of déjà vu has become a

dominant feeling.

“The thing is, people don’t react logically. They react emotionally to this,” said Ed Rendell, the former Pennsylvania governor and a top Biden surrogate who has been trying to calm nervous Democrats by pointing to the better polling, lack of a strong third-party candidate, and some promising early-voting figures when compared with four years ago.

“And emotionally, you see the same scenario developing all over again.”

Biden campaign manager Jen O’Malley Dillon has been telling donors, activists and voters to assume that the current polling leads will not last, even as the campaign also argues that Trump’s approach to campaigning with large crowds amid a surging pandemic is exactly the opposite of what swing voters want to see. She has said Biden does not have a double-digit lead.

“[N]ational polls tell us very little about the pathway to 270 electoral votes,” O’Malley Dillon wrote Saturday in a memo to donors. “We also know that even the best polling can be wrong, and that variables like turnout mean that in a number of critical states we are functionally tied.”

The Democratic super PAC Priorities USA has for a year included slides in its presentations predicting the election’s outcome in a shock scenario — in which Biden gets three percentage points less in White working-class support than polling suggests and the turnout among people of color is four percentage points lower than predicted.

As of Oct. 9, that scenario gave Biden 257 electoral votes and Trump 239 electoral votes, leaving three states — Nevada, Pennsylvania and Michigan — as too close to call. A jump ball to 270.

That doesn’t mean that Biden’s advantage is a mirage, just that the reality is more complicated and less conclusive than many would like at this point, say public opinion experts on both sides of the political divide.

Polling shows Biden’s position stronger on several fronts than Clinton’s advantage at this point



MELINA MARA/THE WASHINGTON POST

Democrats were sure, based on favorable polls, that Hillary Clinton would win in 2016. Now, they are urging against complacency.

in 2016, including in the national polls, which do not always correlate to electoral college outcomes.

“You get a much different sense that the concrete has settled in this race because views of Trump are so intensely negative, but they are not intensely negative with Biden,” said John Anzalone, a top pollster for the Biden campaign. “In ’16, Trump and Hillary’s negatives were essentially identical.”

Anzalone points to Biden’s leads among independents, seniors, White college graduates and suburban voters, all of which Clinton lacked. There is also a much smaller third-party vote evident this cycle, removing a crutch that helped Trump win states such as Wisconsin with just 47 percent of the vote.

But even Anzalone does not describe himself as above the post-2016 stress that afflicts many in his party.

“The only answer to that is to have a healthy supply of alcohol on election night,” he jokes. “It is okay.”

Anita Dunn, a senior adviser to the Biden campaign, said Democrats have been much more cautious in 2020 in their polling assumptions, and intentionally less dependent on polling as a bellwether than the Clinton effort four years earlier.

“Their mistake was they be-

lieved them in 2016 and thought she was going to win based on polling,” Dunn said. “I think the lesson has been learned that polls that are three weeks out are a snapshot of a race three weeks out.”

Pollsters also have learned from their mistakes in the 2016 race, which revealed huge differences in the electorate depending on educational attainment, which many surveys had not factored in.

“Adjusting for over representation of college graduates was critical, but many polls did not do it,” concluded a report after the last election from the American Association of Public Opinion Research, which included input from The Washington Post’s polling team.

Since then, some of the most prolific state polls, including Monmouth University’s, have started to weight their samples by educational attainment to make sure they are not falling prey to survey bias based on voters with more degrees being more likely to answer their phones. Yet several firms have not, including Marist College, Mason-Dixon and EPIC-MRA, which conducts Michigan polls for the Detroit Free Press.

Trump partisans point to other factors that they believe will swing the result in their direction.

Four years ago, three weeks out

from the election, Clinton was up 12 points in Michigan and seven points in both Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, according to the RealClearPolitics Average. Trump won all those states, with final-week polls showing Clinton’s advantage fading.

One Trump campaign adviser, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to speak publicly, remembers thinking after reviewing the data after the final debate in 2016 that Clinton would win. But some voters changed their minds, and undecideds broke away from the Democrat.

“Nobody should be comfortable. It’s very similar to what we saw four years ago,” the person said.

Between early October and the final week of 2016, Trump shaved three points off Clinton’s national public polling lead, four points off her lead in Pennsylvania and five points off her lead in Florida, according to a Post analysis of polls. Exit polls found Trump won late-deciding voters by double digits in key states.

Democrats have long argued that Trump’s ascent in the final days of that campaign was boosted by an announcement by FBI Director James B. Comey that the agency was looking anew at emails related to Clinton’s private server.

That circumstance will not afflict Biden, although Trump continues to talk about Clinton’s time in office and has recently fixated on emails allegedly contained in a laptop once owned by Biden’s son Hunter.

Biden enters the final weeks with a lead in Pennsylvania that is actually slightly narrower, according to the Post analysis, than it was for Clinton three weeks before the 2016 election.

Other factors that are hard to predict are what effect Trump’s massive investment in voter turnout and registration will play in the final result, and whether the president’s recent return to holding mass rallies will create a sense of momentum.

“We know the president being on the road moves numbers com-

bined with an aggressive ground game, which Joe Biden doesn’t have,” Trump campaign adviser Corey Lewandowski said.

Democrats share some of this concern. They have watched their voters turn out early this year, embracing mail voting and other forms of early voting — but will not know until Election Day whether those early votes cannibalize the numbers they might otherwise have seen on Election Day. Republicans, by contrast, expect most of their voters to turn out on Election Day.

“We’re sort of like a high-jumper jumping as high as we can without yet knowing how high the bar will be because Republicans will set that on Election Day,” Wisconsin Democratic Party Chair Ben Wikler said. “The sense among Democrats is a deep-rooted sense that anything could go wrong at every moment, so we have to do everything we possibly can.”

Bole, 47, the township commissioner in Pennsylvania, still becomes emotional as he tells the story of his young daughter waking up the morning after Election Day in 2016 and asking: “Did our girl win?” Before the returns came in, he was “100 percent” certain Clinton would defeat Trump, he said.

Bole won office last year, and he has watched a “strong blue wave” sweep over Pennsylvania’s Montgomery County and other suburban communities, signaling a rejection of Trump. But that is not enough for him to be certain this time.

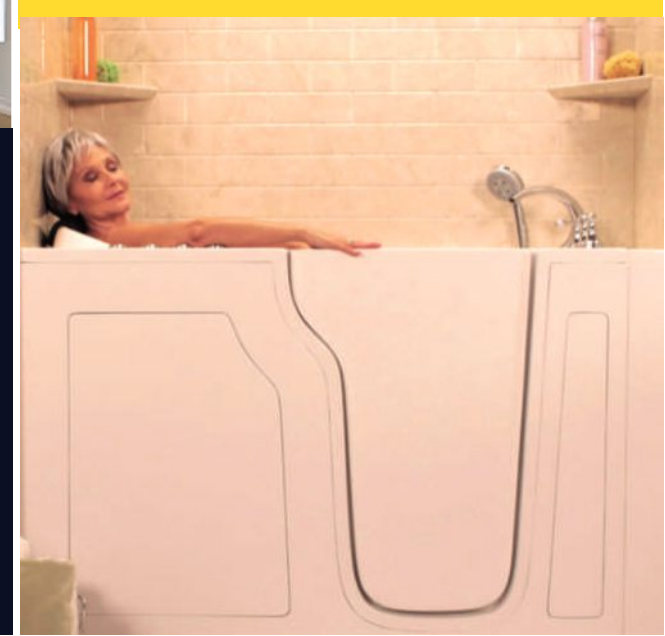
“I think a little bit of the reticence this year has to do with not knowing what lives between those polls,” he said of the surveys that keep coming in. “How many voices aren’t lining up for parades? Or phone banking? How many people are just waiting in the wings and are going to go quietly cast their vote and tip this one direction or the other?”

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Jenna Johnson, Matt Viser and Chelsea Janes contributed to this report.

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ELECTION 2020

For Black voters, a rush to the polls

VOTERS FROM A1

choice between two presidential candidates, but as an urgent stand in the long fight against racial injustice in America, which the year's events have made clear is not yet over.

"We shouldn't be where we're at in 2020," said Tasha Grant, 44, a nurse who voted in Charlotte on Thursday and hopes her vote for the Democratic nominee, former vice president Joe Biden, will ensure that her children grow up in a safer, more accepting world.

"Especially my son," she said. "It doesn't matter if he's smart and an 'A' student. People still see him as a Black male."

Turnout numbers in states with available data show a surge of Black participation in the first few days of in-person voting. In North Carolina, which began early voting Thursday, Black voters accounted for more than 30 percent of turnout on the first day — well above their 23 percent share overall in 2016. In Georgia, Black voters accounted for about 32 percent of mail ballots and in-person votes cast through Thursday, so far outpacing their overall share of the electorate in 2016.

The pattern is similar in U.S. cities with large Black populations. In the counties that include Milwaukee and Detroit, for instance, the roughly 283,000 in combined votes cast already is equivalent to nearly one-fourth of those counties' total turnout four years ago. A drop-off in votes for Democrat Hillary Clinton in those cities in 2016 compared to Obama's 2008 and 2012 vote tallies contributed to Trump's overall victory after he carried Wisconsin and Michigan by tiny margins.

In Washington Post-ABC News national polls conducted in late September and early October, Biden leads Trump by 92 percent to 8 percent among Black likely voters. Additionally, three Post-ABC polls conducted since August found on average that 86 percent of registered Black voters are either certain to vote or have already voted, up slightly from 80 percent in 2016.

In some parts of the country, the Black Lives Matter movement has carried into the voting booth. Last week, dozens of people in Louisville protesting the police shooting death of Breonna Taylor marched from a city park to a basketball arena serving as an early-voting site.

They chanted: "This is what democracy looks like! You — can't — stop — the revolution!"

Another voter at the arena, Rhonne Green, 39, said he had been at the Taylor protests from the start and decided to cast his ballot early because "it's time for a change."

"We've been going through this for way too long and everybody keeps putting a Band-Aid over it or sweeping it under the rug," Green said, after emerging from voting in a T-shirt bearing the phrase "Stand for Black Women."

Trump's handling of racial unrest as well as the coronavirus pandemic changed the calculation for Black voters by posing real threats to their health and safety, said Morgan Jackson, a Democratic consultant in North Carolina. For some, that turned voting into a life-or-death undertaking.

"African Americans have said, 'Enough,'" Jackson said. "Everything Trump has done in the last 3½ years, as crazy as it's been, it's been a mile away from people. It's a show you watched on TV. But



CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: Judge Shamielka Rhinehart stands in line to vote at North Carolina Central University in Durham on Thursday, the state's first day of early voting. Donna Harris waits at the Durham County Library. Brionna Holiday and her mother, Juanita, and father, James, in line at North Carolina Central University.

with these two issues, he's affected your family in your living room and at your kitchen table."

During his time in office, Trump has presided over a sweeping U.S. government retreat from the front lines of civil rights, which advocates say has endangered decades of progress against voter suppression, housing discrimination and police misconduct.

In recent months, Trump has condemned Black Lives Matter as a "symbol of hate" while defending armed White militants in Michigan; right-wing activists who waved weapons from pickup trucks in Portland, Ore.; and a White teen who allegedly shot and killed two protesters in Wisconsin.

Trump has also vowed to safeguard the legacies of Confederate generals while skipping the funeral of the late congressman John Lewis (D-Ga.), a civil rights icon, and retweeted — then deleted — video of a supporter shouting "white power." He has questioned the electoral eligibility of Sen. Kamala D. Harris (D-Calif.), the nation's first Black and Asian American candidate for vice president from a major party; in doing so, he reanimated a version of the false "birther" claim he used to suggest that Obama may not have been born in the United States.

As a result, Democratic pollster Cornell Belcher said, Trump is much more than a threat to Black Americans' right to equality under the law; he is a threat to their very existence.

"There is no group of Americans who are more vested in this democratic experiment, historically, than the Black person in the United States of America," Belcher said. "Black people are

literally voting like their lives depend on it."

Trump has denied that he is a racist, proclaiming on several occasions that he has done more for Black Americans than any president since Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation. As examples, Trump touts the pre-pandemic decline of unemployment among Black Americans, as well as his support for sentencing reform to reduce prison time for nonviolent offenders.

Trump campaign officials, too, have said repeatedly that they are winning a greater share of the Black vote than past Republican nominees, with surrogates including retired professional football player Herschel Walker appearing in ads in cities with significant minority populations such as Detroit, Philadelphia, Raleigh, Atlanta, Jacksonville and Savannah.

"President Trump has a real record of accomplishments for the Black community," said senior Trump campaign adviser Katrina Pierson. "Joe Biden, on the other hand, oversaw stagnant wage growth and anemic job creation. He also authored legislation that incarcerated entire generations of Black Americans for nonviolent offenses. On the facts, President Trump is a far better choice for Black Americans and it isn't even a close call."

Campaign officials also said the surge of early voting so far will fall short of what Democrats need to offset enthusiasm for Trump on Election Day, when most Republicans have said they will vote.

"It takes work to get those ballots filled out and returned," Trump campaign manager Bill Stepien told reporters on a con-

ference call last week. "This is why a ground game matters . . . and Joe Biden doesn't have one."

So far, however, states have logged record levels of voting both by mail and in person, with data showing that Democratic voters have powered much of the turnout.

As of Sunday, nearly 28 million Americans had cast ballots, according to Michael McDonald, a political scientist at the University of Florida. The number, equivalent to more than one-fifth of the overall turnout in 2016, suggests that Trump will have to make up a huge Democratic advantage on Election Day.

Said GOP pollster Bill McInturf: "What was a modest Democratic advantage in 2016 among early voters has become a chasm in a way no one has ever seen before."

Still, analysts warned that if narrow results prompt a wave of post-Election Day ballot litigation, it could affect voters of color more than White voters.

Research by political scientist Dan Smith at the University of Florida found that the mail ballots of Black voters have been rejected at higher rates in past elections. And in North Carolina this fall, election officials have flagged the ballots of a disproportionate number of Black voters with errors that must be remedied to count.

So far, this year's mobilization is on track to rival 2008, when historic levels of Black turnout helped propel Obama to the White House. Since Clinton's lower performance among Black voters in 2016, Democrats have lamented whether a White candidate, including Biden, could ever attract the same level of support

as Obama.

Interviews with dozens of Black voters, however, suggest that the driving force for many this year is not the Democratic candidate but the desire to remove the current president; some Black voters said they are more motivated to vote against Trump than they were to vote for Obama.

"I was waiting for this day," said Connie Neal, who works in health-care management in Charlotte and voted on Thursday. "We need change. We need a new president. As soon as I could do my part, why put it off?"

In addition to issues of race, Black voters also said in interviews that Trump's handling of the coronavirus crisis is a major motivating force. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Black Americans are more than twice as likely as Whites to become infected with the novel coronavirus, nearly five times as likely to be hospitalized and twice as likely to die.

Married couple Latonia and Irie Smith, both 62 and retired postal workers from Fishers, Ind., said health care was the driving issue behind their decision to vote in person on Oct. 6, the opening day in their state.

"We've been fortunate to not have been affected so far," Irie Smith said. "But we never know what the fall and winter are going to bring."

Many voters interviewed as they waited in lines in recent days in Atlanta, Houston and Durham, N.C., said it was important to cast a ballot in person at the first opportunity to make a statement about how important this election is.

They brought picnic lunches and lawn chairs, wore Black Lives Matter apparel, and, in some cases, voted for the first time ever.

Matter apparel, and, in some cases, voted for the first time ever.

Some also said they were suspicious of using the mail — in part because of the raft of reports this year about delays at the U.S. Postal Service and Trump's threats to withhold postal funding.

Another force resonated for others: a wariness, born of decades of voter suppression targeting Black Americans, to trust that their vote would be counted if they couldn't feed it into a scanner themselves.

"Since I was 18, I feel more comfortable this way," said Alyson Marsalis, 57, a psychologist from Waukegan, Ill. "I have folk who got beaten over voting."

Said Jatona Mitchell, 37, a home-care nurse who voted last week near Charlotte: "My people fought for the right to vote."

Carole Blount, 60, of Detroit, also a retired postal worker, offered a succinct answer to the question why she cast her ballot in person. "To get it counted," she said.

"My people, my heritage, were not born with this right, and they had to fight," she said. "I owe them my vote. They fought hard and shed blood and died so I could be here in 2020 to vote."

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Elise Viebeck, Scott Clement, Emily Guskin, Ted Mellnik and Greg Miller in Washington; Anna Clark in Detroit; Ted Genoways in Omaha; Mark Guarino in Waukegan, Ill.; Stephanie Hunt in North Charleston, S.C.; Pam Kelley in Charlotte; Brittney Martin in Houston; Kevin Williams in Dayton, Ohio; Haisten Willis in Marietta, Ga.; Josh Wood in Louisville; and Adam Wren in Noblesville, Ind., contributed to this report.

Fundraising records fall as Democrats widen cash advantage in third quarter

The Fix

AARON BLAKE

Two years ago, Beto O'Rourke stunned the political world by raising \$38.1 million in the final quarter of fundraising ahead of Texas's Senate race, setting him on course for a near-miss loss in a state that Democrats had been trying to put in play for years.

By Friday morning, though, O'Rourke's 2018 haul became something of a footnote. All told, Democratic candidates seeking to take back the Senate in November beat his record three times last quarter, and just about all of them swamped their GOP opponents —

most of them incumbents — in the 2020 race.

Money isn't everything in politics, but to the extent that it reflects momentum and enthusiasm, Democrats got a shot in the arm with a little more than two weeks left in the campaign.

The Democrats' dominance in third-quarter fundraising is virtually unprecedented. It was led by South Carolina's Jaime Harrison (\$57 million), Maine's Sara Gideon (\$39.4 million) and Arizona's Mark Kelly (\$38.7 million), all of whom eclipsed O'Rourke's record from just two years prior.

But even setting aside those record hauls, every Democratic

Senate candidate running in the 15 races considered competitive outtraised his or her Republican opponent. Combined, they raised more than \$370 million, compared with about \$150 million for the GOP candidates: an average of \$25 million for the Democratic candidates and \$10 million for the Republicans.

The Democrats' advantage was even wider than Joe Biden's edge over President Trump in just-released numbers for September, when Biden pulled in \$383 million to Trump's \$248 million.

Twelve of the 15 Democratic candidates raised at least double their opponents' hauls, eight

raised triple, and six raised at least quadruple.

Here are the most lopsided tallies:

Gideon's \$39.4 million more than quadrupled Republican Sen. Susan Collins's \$8.3 million.

Iowa Democrat Theresa Greenfield's \$28.7 million quadrupled Republican Sen. Joni Ernst's \$7.2 million.

North Carolina Democrat Cal Cunningham raised \$28.3 million, compared with Republican Sen. Thom Tillis's \$6.6 million.

Democrat Barbara Bollier outtraised Republican Rep. Roger Marshall \$13.5 million to \$2.9 million for Kansas's open

seat.

Georgia Democrat Raphael Warnock raised \$12.8 million compared with appointed Republican Sen. Kelly Loeffler's \$2 million. (Loeffler has spent an additional \$5.5 million of her own money. She is also fighting for a place in a likely runoff with Republican Rep. Douglas A. Collins, who pulled in \$2.3 million.)

Alaska independent Al Gross, who has said he would caucus with Democrats, outtraised Republican Sen. Dan Sullivan \$9.1 million to \$1.7 million.

Georgia Democrat Jon Ossoff also came close to quadrupling his opponent, raising

\$21.3 million, compared with Republican Sen. David Perdue's \$5.6 million.

The only state in which it was even close was Michigan, where Democratic Sen. Gary Peters's \$14.7 million just edged Republican John James's \$14.4 million.

Only two other Republicans in top Senate races raised even half of their Democratic opponents' hauls: Republican Sen. Martha McSally (Ariz.) raised \$23 million — compared with Kelly's \$38.7 million — and Sen. John Cornyn (Tex.) netted \$7.2 million — compared with Democrat M.J. Hegar's \$13.5 million.

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Trump still clings to crowd size as a measure of success

President cites rallies to rebut polls, which show him trailing Biden

BY DAVID NAKAMURA

President Trump is trailing Joe Biden in the polls, lagging badly in fundraising, and losing out on the endorsements of some prominent Republicans and even former aides.

But there remains one marker by which Trump believes his campaign is showing its true vitality in the home stretch and demonstrating why he can win again Nov. 3 — crowd size.

Trump has returned to the campaign trail with gusto after battling the novel coronavirus, holding daily rallies with thousands of supporters at airport hangars, including events in recent days in Florida, Georgia, Michigan and Wisconsin. In doing so, the president is again flouting warnings from doctors — including Anthony S. Fauci, the federal government's top infectious-disease expert — about the potential health risks of large groups gathering with little social distancing and many eschewing face masks.

For Trump, however, the rallies are a show of strength and an ego boost after months of stumbles, during which former campaign manager Brad Parscale was demoted in part over his management of a rally in Tulsa at which turnout was far below projections.

“Can you believe how many people are back there?” Trump asked a crowd Friday in Ocala, Fla., after disembarking Air Force One, which remained parked just beyond the stage for a dramatic flair. Pointing toward reporters, Trump said: “You want to turn the cameras around to show — that is a lot of people here today. They never report that.”

For Trump, a former reality television star, the size of the audience has long been paramount, a measurement he be-

lieves foreshadowed his 2016 upset victory over Hillary Clinton and one he consistently touts as evidence that the pollsters and pundits who are increasingly pessimistic about his reelection chances are wrong again.

During his debate with Biden — whose campaign has featured smaller groups of supporters, with more adherence to coronavirus safeguards — Trump said mockingly: “Nobody shows up to his rallies.”

By contrast, he added, “we have tremendous crowds, as you see, and literally on 24 hours’ notice.” He boasted of crowds of 35,000 to 40,000, although the actual count has appeared far smaller. His campaign declined requests to provide attendance figures.

On social media, the president and his allies have flooded their feeds with panoramic photos of the crowds and video footage panning the scene from above, some scored to dramatic music.

“The Polls are Wrong!” Trump’s son, Eric, tweeted Saturday, showing crowd footage from an airport rally in Macon, Ga.

In many ways, the president is running a replay of his 2016 campaign, in which he taunted his opponents as having less enthusiastic supporters. But Democrats argue that the 2020 campaign offers significant differences and that Trump is fooling himself.

Experts said rallies can be helpful in energizing supporters, as well as collecting their personal data to help with fundraising and get-out-the-vote efforts. A Washington Post-ABC News poll last week found that 71 percent of Trump supporters said they are “very enthusiastic” about supporting him, well above the 52 percent of Biden supporters who are very enthusiastic about the former vice president.

But Trump’s enthusiasm advantage may not contribute to an actual turnout advantage. The Post-ABC poll found 90 percent of registered voters who support Trump said they are absolutely certain to vote or have already done so, as did 88 percent of Biden’s supporters.



SALWAN GEORGES/THE WASHINGTON POST

President Trump speaks Saturday at a rally at an airport in Muskegon, Mich., where he amplified his attacks on the governor.

Overall, Biden leads Trump by 11 points in a Post average of national polls and by between seven to eight points in Wisconsin, Michigan and Pennsylvania, the three swing states that propelled Trump to the White House in 2016.

Meanwhile, Biden and his Democratic allies raised a record \$383 million in September, far outpacing the \$248 million accumulated by Trump and the Republicans.

Yet the president has settled on a closing message that appeals narrowly to his base.

In his stump speech, which usually lasts more than an hour, Trump has touted unfounded conspiracy theories about Biden, Clinton and former president Barack Obama, played down the threat of the pandemic and pushed the Senate to confirm conservative judge Amy Coney Barrett to the vacant Supreme Court seat.

At times the rallies stray into potentially dangerous territory. On Saturday in Muskegon, Mich., Trump amplified his previous attacks on Gov. Gretchen Whitmer (D) by demanding that she relax coronavirus safety restrictions on businesses and reopen schools, promoting the crowd to chant, “Lock her up!” Trump didn’t move to stop them and instead

responded with a smirk: “Lock ‘em all up.”

The governor — who the FBI said was the target of a kidnapping plot from an extremist group that federal authorities broke up last week — slammed the president for using “exactly the rhetoric that has put me, my family and other government officials’ lives in danger while we try to save the

“They are an important show of strength to rally the base.”

Charlie Gerow, a Pennsylvania-based GOP political strategist

lives of our fellow Americans.”

Democrats said Trump was hurting his own cause.

“From a message standpoint, all rallies are not helpful rallies,” said David Axelrod, the CNN political analyst who served as a key strategist on Obama’s historic 2008 campaign.

“It matters what you say,” Axelrod said. “Trump treats rallies like a stand up act for the faithful. But, beyond thrilling the already devoted, if his message is off-key for the larger electorate, who see only his spiciest or most controversial

lines, the rallies may only exacerbate his problems. America may be tired of the show.”

Trump is still thrilled by it. Along with his rallies, he has touted pro-Trump boat parades and Trump campaign yard signs and flags as evidence that he remains popular in swaths of the Rust Belt and Florida’s endless subdivisions.

“The rallies are not the be-all, end-all by any stretch,” said Charlie Gerow, a Pennsylvania-based Republican political strategist. “But they are an important show of strength to rally the base and increase the intensity of those people. Folks who attend a rally go home, talk to friends, talk to neighbors, talk to their family about what happened. . . . Trump has thousands of little ambassadors going to their little corners of America, and the Biden campaign doesn’t have that.”

Biden faced similar doubters during the Democratic primary, as rivals — most prominently Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.) — staged larger rallies with what appeared to be more passionate supporters. But Biden stuck to his strategy and ultimately prevailed on the strength of overwhelming support from African American voters, who analysts said have traditionally not attended rallies as frequently as White voters do.

During the pandemic, Biden has proceeded more cautiously than Trump. The former vice president has held smaller gatherings indoors, where he and supporters wear masks, as well as outdoor “drive-in” events at which supporters park their vehicles in socially distanced spaces to listen to him speak from a stage.

On Friday, Trump retweeted a video posted by an NBC News reporter that showed Trump supporters, gathered in a group, chanting “Four more years!” and “Trump!” from a distance as Biden addressed a few dozen supporters in Toledo.

Biden aides defend the approach by accusing Trump of recklessly endangering himself, his staff and his supporters with his large rallies.

“Trump’s pandemic response continues to fail American families,” Biden campaign spokesman Andrew Bates said, “yet the president is knowingly endangering his own supporters out of insecurity and vanity.”

Trump campaign aides emphasized that his rallies generally take place at least partially outdoors. They said supporters have their temperature taken as a precaution and are offered face masks and hand sanitizer.

In Ocala on Friday, thousands waited for more than two hours for the president’s arrival on Air Force One. On a video live stream, correspondent Lilit Vanetsyan of Right Side Broadcasting, a conservative pro-Trump network, marveled at the scene: “It is electric out here. I mean, you show me a Biden rally that looks like this.”

Many in the crowd behind her were not wearing masks.

Last week, Fauci, the director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, called Trump’s rallies “very troublesome” at a time when coronavirus infection rates in the United States have risen to their highest levels since July.

Ken Farnaso, the Trump campaign’s deputy national press secretary, rejected criticism of the events as risky.

“With just under 20 days to go until Election Day, voters deserve to see both candidates on the trail working to win every single vote, and it’s clear that everywhere President Trump goes, support of this America First agenda goes unmatched,” Farnaso said.

But Trump’s obsessive focus on speaking to large groups took a hit Friday — a day after he and Biden had participated in dueling town hall-style television forums on competing networks.

The ratings showed that Biden had bested him, drawing an average of 13.90 million viewers to the president’s average of 13.06 million.

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Washington Post polling director Scott Clement contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

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THE WORLD

Defiance marks Israel’s new lockdown

Unlike the obedience to the first round of rules in the spring, compliance this time plummeted in the face of public skepticism, confusion and complacency

BY STEVE HENDRIX
AND RUTH EGLASH

JERUSALEM — As one of the few countries to return to a complete lockdown amid a new surge in coronavirus infections, Israel is learning that freezing a nation in place is even more difficult the second time around.

Israel’s experience could hold lessons for other governments looking to stem the pandemic’s stubborn grip across the world.

After a nearly two-month national quarantine last spring — in which Israel’s 9 million residents largely complied with orders to stay home — autumn’s Lockdown II has proved to be far leakier and more contentious.

A restive public, doubtful that the restrictions are necessary, desperate to make a living and outraged at reports of politicians ignoring their own rules, has been less willing to bottle itself up since the second quarantine began Sept. 25.

Whole neighborhoods and towns have openly ignored rules against gatherings at synagogues, weddings and funerals, particularly in Israel’s ultra-Orthodox religious communities. With workplaces and schools shut, parks are filled with families and exercise groups. Social media is rife with stories of citizens of all stripes blowing through the official 1,000-meter limit on trips from home, with many couching visits to friends or family as permitted grocery runs.

One video of police dragging a celebrant from an illegal wedding was shared and viewed widely Wednesday. Police said one officer received minor injuries when members of the wedding party threw bottles.

‘A lot less community spirit’

“During the first lockdown, we saw so many people who were focused on tackling this pandemic as a united community,” said Brig. Gen. Sigal Bar-Tzvi, commander of community policing for the Israel Police. “This time around, though, people are worrying more about themselves and their own needs. There is a lot less community spirit.”

Faith in the government’s coronavirus response has collapsed, polls show.

Public health officials, many of whom opposed a blanket lockdown as overly blunt, worry that the spotty enforcement, government infighting and vacillating policy are feeding cynicism that will make it harder to fight the outbreak in the months to come.

“People have lost even more trust, and I’m afraid they will not be as cautious in the future,” said Hagai Levine, chairman of the Israeli Association of Public Health Physicians. “There is no public health without the public.”

Small businesses, which have been decimated by the pandemic-driven economic collapse, have turned to guerrilla retailing, risking fines of about \$1,500 to pass housewares and toys through semi-open front doors.

Along Emek Refaim, a popular Jerusalem shopping street, a dry cleaner, hardware store and flower shop were lights-on, doors-open despite the lockdown Sunday, which is a regular business day in Israel. “I’m open unless the police come by, and then I’m closed,” said Benny, the owner of a flower shop, who would give only his first name.

Elsewhere on the street, a shad-



JACK GUEZ/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

People relax on the beach in Tel Aviv as Israel began cautiously emerging Sunday from a second coronavirus lockdown after a month of tight restrictions. In Jerusalem, below, medical workers move a patient from an ambulance at a hospital entrance. “Red zone” neighborhoods, with the highest infection rates, will remain under lockdown.

owy trade was unfolding, where doors were closed but owners could be seen inside. At Hoshen Jewelry, owner Ziva Mizrahi had just let two customers in while she was doing some paperwork.

“If I’m here and they knock, I have to do it,” she said. She doesn’t want to violate the coronavirus restrictions, but business is down 90 percent since the lockdown began. “Otherwise, I don’t know how long I can hold out.”

One flower shop in Tel Aviv has stayed open by characterizing its herb plants as “fresh food,” an exception to the lockdown, according to a roundup of business dodges compiled by the newspaper Ha’aretz. At least one clothing store placed a few boxes of fruit for sale amid the garment racks for the same reason.

A group of owners burned tires and unsold inventory on a Tel Aviv street Thursday to protest forced closures amid an economic collapse that saw more than 37,000 businesses fail in the first half of the year.

Thousands of small shops, organizing via Facebook, opened their doors last Sunday in mass revolt. This Sunday, national retail chains announced plans to join them, with more than 6,000 stores expected to defy the regulations, according to the Association of Retail, Fashion and Café Chains.

Record cases

Israel successfully flattened the rate of infections after the first rise of the novel coronavirus in March. With Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu cheerleading efforts almost nightly on television, the government shut the airport and



AMMAR AWAD/REUTERS

schools and told everyone largely to stay home.

But within weeks of reopening in May — too abruptly, critics said — infections began to mount. New cases reached a peak of more than 4,000 a day in September, the highest per capita rate in the world. Most of the rise has occurred in ultra-Orthodox and Arab communities. Covid-19 cases threatened to overwhelm some hospitals.

Other countries facing resurgent numbers have opted for targeted restrictions, including overnight curfews beginning in Paris and other French cities this weekend. Israel, in imposing another

national lockdown on the eve of the Jewish high holiday season, immediately met with resistance.

People were more reluctant to comply this time, in part because they could see ultra-Orthodox communities, which have posted infection rates as much as double those of the general population, flatly rejecting the lockdown. While some rabbis beseeched followers not to host holiday gatherings, many refused to bar synagogue prayers, close yeshiva schools or disperse outdoor crowds.

Memories were also fresh of officials flouting the rules. Netanya-

hu and President Reuven Rivlin both hosted forbidden Passover gatherings during the first lockdown. Netanyahu’s wife, Sara, was caught having a hair stylist come to her house, and a former health minister attended weddings, both in violation of the law.

“A major part of the Israeli character is not to be a ‘freier,’” a Hebrew word loosely translated as “sucker,” said Dan Ben-David, a professor at Tel Aviv University and president of the Shores Institute for Socioeconomic Research, which is tracking the public response. “These guys are ignoring it, so why shouldn’t we?”

The decision to impose another full quarantine on the eve of the Jewish holiday season came amid a chaotic battle among health, education and finance ministers, all fighting for different rules and exceptions.

Netanyahu, who is facing corruption charges, was accused of pushing for a shutdown to end the growing mass protests against his rule that had become a weekly fixture outside the prime minister’s Jerusalem residence.

The result was a set of inconsistent regulations that left the public confused and skeptical.

“There is no logic to what Israel is doing; it’s like Kafka,” said Levine, of the physicians association. “Why can’t you swim in the sea? Why can’t you do takeaway from a restaurant? It erodes trust.”

As infection rates have drifted down toward target levels of 2,000 new cases a day, Israel began lifting some of the restrictions Sunday. Preschools were allowed to reopen in the face of objections from teachers unions, and people could travel freely and gather in groups of up to 10 indoors and 20 outside.

But “red zone” neighborhoods, with the highest infection rates, will remain under lockdown.

The country risks falling into a cycle of extremes, Levine said, with mass quarantines followed by spiking cases followed by mass quarantines, with no comprehensive strategy to keep infections low.

“If we don’t learn from our mistakes, Israel could be heading for a third lockdown,” he said.

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DIGEST

MIDDLE EAST

Israel, Bahrain sign deal formalizing ties

Israel and Bahrain on Sunday agreed to establish formal diplomatic relations, making the small Persian Gulf country the fourth Arab state to normalize ties with Israel.

The U.S.-brokered agreement capped a one-day visit by a high-level delegation of American and Israeli officials to Bahrain.

Bahrain joined the United Arab Emirates at a White House ceremony last month marking the “Abraham Accords,” a pair of U.S.-brokered diplomatic pacts with Israel. While the UAE’s deal with Israel formally established ties, the agreement with Bahrain was less detailed and included a mutual pledge to follow suit.

The visit Sunday appeared to complete that task, clearing the

way for the countries to open embassies and exchange ambassadors.

U.S. Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s national security adviser led the delegations.

Israel’s agreements with the UAE and Bahrain have marked diplomatic victories for the Trump administration and for Netanyahu.

But they have come under heavy criticism from the Palestinians, who have long counted on a unified Arab stance that recognition of Israel should come only after the Palestinians achieve an independent state of their own. The agreements reflect a shifting Middle East, in which shared concerns about Iran and business opportunities have overshadowed the Palestinian issue.

Egypt and Jordan are the only

other Arab states to sign diplomatic treaties with Israel, in 1979 and 1994, respectively.

— Associated Press

IRAN

U.N. arms ban expires despite U.S. objections

A decade-long United Nations arms embargo on Iran that barred it from purchasing foreign weapons such as tanks and fighter jets expired Sunday as planned under its 2015 nuclear deal with world powers, despite objections from the United States, which insists that the ban remains in place.

Although Iran says it plans no “buying spree,” it can now in theory purchase weapons to upgrade military armaments dating to before its 1979 revolution and sell locally produced gear abroad.

In practice, however, Iran’s economy remains crippled by U.S. sanctions, and other nations may avoid arms deals with Tehran for fear of American retaliation. The Trump administration has warned that any sales of weapons to Iran or exports from the country will be penalized.

Sunday’s expiration of the arms embargo was, in fact, the proximate cause for the U.S. decision last month to move forward with the “snapback” of international sanctions on Iran. Washington tried unsuccessfully to get the U.N. Security Council to extend the embargo but suffered a defeat when only one country on the 15-member panel supported it.

In response, the Trump administration said it had invoked “snapback” — a mechanism provided for in the Security Council resolution enshrining the 2015 nuclear deal that allows any

participant in the accord to restore U.N. sanctions if it determines that Iran is not complying with its terms. The rest of the council, however, rejected U.S. standing to trigger a snapback, saying Washington had lost its right to do so when President Trump pulled the country out of the deal in 2018.

The United Nations banned Iran from buying major foreign weapon systems in 2010 amid tensions over its nuclear program.

— Associated Press

Car bomb kills 13 in Afghanistan:

A suicide car bombing killed at least 13 people and wounded about 120 in Afghanistan’s western Ghowr province, officials said. An Interior Ministry spokesman said the bomb struck near the entrance of the provincial police chief’s office and other government buildings in

the area. No one asserted responsibility for the blast, which comes amid an uptick in attacks by the Taliban as representatives of the group and Afghan government officials hold their first face-to-face talks in Qatar, where the Taliban have had a political office for many years.

Vietnam landslide buries 22 at army camp:

A landslide in central Vietnam buried at least 22 army members, just a week after a landslide killed 13, as heavy rains continued to pound the region, state media reported. The latest landslide sent rock and earth crashing into the camp at the foot of a mountain after a week of incessant rain in Quang Tri province, the Vietnam News Agency reported. Eight people escaped. Torrential rains have caused widespread floods in central Vietnam since last week.

— From news services

Taliban accuses U.S. of violating accord

BY PAMELA CONSTABLE

KABUL — The Taliban, facing international condemnation for a 10-day assault in southern Helmand province, is accusing the U.S. military of violating their February accord by carrying out “excessive” aerial attacks and bombings in recent days.

In a statement Sunday, the insurgents played down their own attack on areas around Helmand’s provincial capital, which has forced thousands of villagers to flee their homes and left scores hospitalized.

The assault has aroused public alarm and anger, leading many Afghans to question why their government is holding peace talks with the Taliban, especially as the insurgents are hardening their negotiating position after President Trump said he wanted to withdraw all U.S. troops by year’s end.

The Taliban delegates to the talks in Doha welcomed Trump’s announcement and publicly wished for his reelection — and then turned on their American interlocutors with their accusations.

“All contents of the U.S.-Islamic Emirate accord are unambiguous, but the other side has violated its commitments on numerous occasions, engaging in provocative actions and bombing noncombat zones,” spokesman Qari Yousef Ahmadi said in the statement. “All responsibility and consequences . . . shall fall squarely on the American side.”

The U.S. military spokesman in Kabul responded that the strikes were “consistent” with both the U.S.-Taliban agreement and a joint declaration between Afghan and U.S. officials.

“We categorically reject the Taliban’s claim that the United States has violated the U.S.-Taliban agreement,” Col. William Leggett tweeted. He said U.S. airstrikes in both Helmand and Farah provinces were “solely in defense of” Afghan military forces as they are being attacked by the Taliban.

“The entire world has witnessed the Taliban’s offensive operations in Helmand — attacks

which injured and displaced thousands of innocent Afghan civilians,” he said, adding that “all sides” in the conflict must “reduce violence to allow the political process to take hold.”

Trump’s call this month for a complete U.S. troop withdrawal has been viewed as a major concession to the Taliban, who have long demanded that U.S. forces leave the country. The insurgents agreed in February to reduce violence, cut ties with extremist groups and refrain from attacking U.S. forces in return for the gradual withdrawal of all U.S. troops by May.

It was soon after Trump’s announcement that the Taliban launched the assault in Helmand, triggering accusations that they had violated the U.S. accord and jeopardized the entire peace process. U.S. officials appealed to the Taliban last week to stop, then met with its leaders in Doha to try to salvage the deal they spent 18 months negotiating.

Zalmay Khalilzad, the U.S. envoy to the talks, tweeted Saturday that both sides had agreed on a “reset” that would reduce violence. He did not provide details.

Meanwhile, the peace process between the Afghan government and the Taliban remained mired in disputes over procedural rules, as it has been since the talks started Sept. 12. The sides have yet to touch on the critical issues at stake: How to end the country’s 19-year civil conflict and combine two starkly different visions of a future government into one.

In recent days, Afghan delegates to the talks said the Taliban was doubling down on its initial demands over the rules and terms to govern substantive discussions. The Taliban has insisted that all talks be conducted under the terms of the U.S.-Taliban pact, which did not include any Afghans, and under the authority of Sunni Muslim law, although Afghanistan has a sizable non-Sunni minority.

Since Trump’s announcement, several Afghan delegates in Doha say, the Taliban’s initial stiff but



Families leave their houses Oct. 13 after Afghan troops and Taliban insurgents clashed in Afghanistan’s Helmand province.

polite reception has given way to sharper, dismissive rebuffs. One delegate said the Taliban is acting “as if they have defeated the United States” and the Afghan delegation is there to surrender.

“We still want to act responsibly and find a way to end the war through negotiations, but as the violence rises, public pressure is mounting and people are starting to question why we are even at the table,” said delegate Nader Nadery, an Afghan government administrator. “We have to find a balance between the sense of urgency and the temptation to rush into a peace that cannot hold.”

On Saturday, a Taliban spokesman in Doha said the group wants to keep negotiating and has actually reduced its attacks in recent months.

Afghan delegates said they, too, will continue to participate, but they expected the talks to languish until after the Nov. 3 U.S. election. The Taliban appear to hope that a reelected Trump would abandon the war entirely, while Afghan analysts say a Biden administration would probably review U.S. policy and

consult with military leaders, who advise keeping some troops here permanently.

Few Afghans believe the insurgents could take over the country by force, but many expect it’s inevitable that they will play a significant role in any future government. Afghan and foreign experts have labored for months to come up with viable options for joint rule, but with the talks at a standstill, those efforts have been left on the drawing board.

Instead, a flurry of informal proposals have emerged. At one extreme is an Iran-style regime, led by Muslim clerics with controlled elections and technocratic ministries. At the other is a civilian-led government with some religious modifications and Taliban members holding some senior posts.

The role of religious influence is particularly sensitive. The Taliban members are hard-line Sunnis. Critics worry about the establishment of a Sunni theocracy in a country with a 15 percent Shiite minority that has long avoided sectarian strife.

“This has created fear that the Taliban want to pave the way for

future discriminatory laws,” said Ali Amiri, a professor at Ibn Sena University, located in Kabul’s main community of ethnic Hazara Shiites. “The worry is that a post-peace power structure will be built on religious discrimination.”

The uncertain path forward has been complicated by Afghan domestic politics. The government of President Ashraf Ghani is weak and unpopular, and some of his rivals hope for a deal in which the Taliban agrees to a permanent cease-fire in return for an interim government.

“My worry is not the Taliban taking over, it is internal collapse,” said Rahmatullah Nabil, a former national intelligence chief. “Ghani has no leverage, and the Taliban have gained a lot of legitimacy from the U.S. deal. They may surround the cities and put on more pressure until they get a deal. We need to save our institutions, and we need new leadership to do that. The Taliban has a Plan B, but the government does not.”

But aides to Ghani said the Taliban assault on Helmand has helped rob the insurgents of

moral and religious credibility. One delegate in Doha said he felt “sick to my stomach” after hearing one Taliban delegate said they did not regret killing civilians in Helmand because there were “not Muslims.”

One national security aide said the Taliban, who for years presented itself as waging a jihad against the West, has forfeited that claim by striking a deal with the United States that did little to benefit Afghanistan and by ramping up violent attacks on civilians from their own religion and homeland.

“Freedom fighters do not kill their own people or wage such destruction on them,” said Javed Faisal, a spokesman for the national security adviser’s office. “Their cruelty is being exposed and their jihadi narrative is hollow. No matter what happens at the table, even if the Americans give everything away, even if we do, this war is going to go on, because the Taliban show no will for peace.”

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Aziz Tassal and Sharif Hassan contributed to this report.

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Bolivian socialists seek political return in delayed race

BY MONICA MACHICAO
AND ANTHONY FAIOLA

LA PAZ, BOLIVIA — From the sweltering jungles to the high Andes, Bolivians cast ballots Sunday in a tense election pitting the socialists who ran the country until last year against a range of opponents seeking to thwart their return to power.

The much-delayed election is a replay of last year's contest. That vote ended with longtime socialist president Evo Morales fleeing to exile as opponents alleged electoral fraud and supporters decried a "coup."

Morales, banned from running this time, is watching from Argentina as his former finance minister, front-runner Luis Arce, 57, faces two main competitors, the centrist former president Carlos Mesa, 67, and right-wing nationalist Luis Camacho, 41. Fears have run high of a repeat of the violence last year that included mobs burning ballot boxes and clashes in the streets. But voting Sunday appeared largely calm.

However, socialist backers and other observers grew increasingly nervous as the night wore on and Bolivian media outlets and poll takers withheld the scheduled release of exit polls, even as the official count was coming in painstakingly slowly. Morales and others appeared to suggest that the information was being purposely withheld because it potentially showed a much bigger night for the socialists than the right-wing interim government wanted to immediately reveal.

"What is the delay?" Morales tweeted late Sunday. "What are they hiding?"

As of 10 p.m., less than 1 percent of the official votes were being tallied, suggesting the same kind of counting delays that plagued last year's ill-fated vote. In a surprise decision Saturday, Bolivia's electoral tribunal announced that it would not release the traditional quick-count projection of the outcome as initially expected on Sunday. The tribunal said it instead would wait to release results until all ballots were counted or tallies showed an indisputable trend.

The decision, made out of what it described as an abundance of caution in a highly polarized race, came as both sides went into the



An Indigenous man votes at a polling station in Quillacollo, Cochabamba Department, Bolivia, on Oct. 18 during the country's general election, which was postponed twice.

vote claiming that the other was going to cheat.

The exit polls were set to offer insight into an election viewed as a gauge of the strength of democracy in Latin America. But the electoral tribunal's decision meant Bolivians might wait a day or two, and potentially up to a week, for official results. José Luis Galvez, director of one of the polling firms, CiesMori, told reporters late Sunday that the company had not been able to collect enough samples to meet its standards for exit polls. Meanwhile, the official count — typically used as a backup to calculate exit poll percentages — was coming in too slowly for the firm to use it to finish its models.

"We ask the people for patience," Salvador Romero, head of

the electoral tribunal, told reporters in La Paz. "We need to be certain about the results."

Dozens of police officers gathered in front of the campaign headquarters of the Movement Toward Socialism late Sunday in La Paz, apparently to guard the facility. Images on Bolivia TV showed police cordoning off a section of the street.

Bolivia is being run by interim president Jeanine Áñez, a right-wing caretaker who has been accused of presiding over a wave of repression against leftists during her year in power. She pulled out of the race last month amid poor polling numbers.

Arce condemned the decision to withhold partial results. He said his party, the Movement Toward

Socialism, or MAS, was conducting its own count and would give "priority" to that result.

"This is a step back in the process of transparency," he told reporters after casting his vote Sunday.

But Mesa called the decision understandable, given that the release of partial votes had sparked violence last year.

"It's not the ideal, but we understand," he said. "We are going to be patient, and we ask people to be patient."

Analysts warned that a lengthy delay could ratchet up tensions.

"It adds to the uncertainty and the anxiety," said Kathryn Ledebur, director of the Andean Information Network in Cochabamba. "You now have up a period of up to a week where anything could hap-

pen."

Going into Sunday, opinion polls showed Arce close to the threshold needed for a first-round victory. To avoid a runoff, a candidate must win more than 50 percent of the vote, or at least 40 percent with a 10-point margin of victory.

Analysts say Mesa, running second in the polls, would become the favorite in a second round of voting next month, assuming the opposition to the socialists coalesces around him. Camacho has trailed both men in the polls by significant margins.

Carla Nina Martínez, a 30-year-old nurse voting in a rural area just south of La Paz, described herself as a longtime supporter of the left. But she said she was

changing her vote this year to support Mesa.

"I value some things that President Evo Morales did. Everything was going very well," she said. "But in the end, as always, politics end up being corrupt."

A survivor of covid-19, the disease caused by the novel coronavirus, she said she blamed the Áñez government for a poorly executed coronavirus plan.

"During the high points of the pandemic, we were never provided with personal protective equipment, and health personnel ended up being infected," she said.

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Faiola reported from Miami. Ana Vanessa Herrero in Caracas, Venezuela, contributed to this report.

After



Before

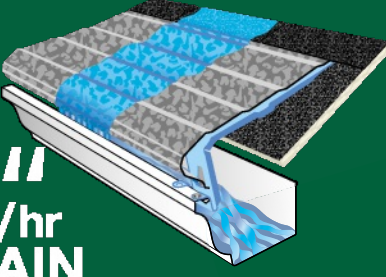




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Congressional Democrats urge Sissi to release prisoners

Jailings of activists, opponents continue in Egypt amid backlash

BY SUDARSAN RAGHAVAN

CAIRO — Egypt’s authoritarian regime has jailed thousands of political opponents, human rights activists and pro-democracy lawyers, often on flimsy or trumped-up charges. That has triggered widespread condemnation, yet the jailings have continued.

Now congressional Democrats are signaling to Egyptian President Abdel Fatah al-Sissi that human rights abuses will not be tolerated if Joe Biden wins the presidency next month.

In a letter to be sent on Monday, 56 lawmakers detail several cases of what they say is unjust imprisonment and raise concerns of the novel coronavirus spreading in Egypt’s jails. They urge Sissi to release those “unjustly detained for exercising their fundamental human rights.”

“These are people who should never have been imprisoned in the first place,” the lawmakers say in the letter provided to The Washington Post. The letter is signed by 55 Democrats and independent Sen. Bernie Sanders (Vt.).

Trump once called Sissi his “favorite dictator.” His administration has been mostly silent, at least publicly, about abuses under Sissi’s rule.

“We are not here to lecture,” he said during a 2017 meeting with Arab and Muslim leaders in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. “We are not here to tell other people how to live, what to do, who to be, or how to worship. Instead, we are here to offer partnership — based on shared interests and values — to pursue a better future for us all.”

Human rights activists say the approach emboldened Sissi to increase his oppression.

A spokesman for the National Security Council declined to comment on the letter on Sunday.

“I do think there is a clear indication that when the administration hopefully changes that there is going to be a very different



A man stands outside the U.S. Capitol with a photograph of Egyptian President Abdel Fatah al-Sissi in 2017.

approach to foreign policy, particularly in the Middle East,” said Rep. Ro Khanna (D-Calif.), whose office helped spearhead the letter. “It means that our relationship with Egypt is going to be reexamined from a human rights lens, that human rights again will be prioritized.”

The immediate trigger for the letter, Khanna said, was Egypt’s crackdown on pro-democracy activists and perceived opponents in recent weeks. More than 900 have been arrested since Sept. 20 following small anti-Sissi protests scattered around the country, according to the Egyptian Commission for Rights and Freedoms.

The demonstrations, which were quickly suppressed by Egyptian security forces, were driven in part by economic woes, frustrations over the coronavirus pan-

demic and government efforts to fine residents or demolish homes in poor areas to allow more development. The government has also continued to systematically target LGBTQ people, human rights activists say.

Sissi has said he honors human rights by ensuring “safety and stability” and providing for the basic needs of Egyptians.

The lawmakers name more than 20 activists, lawyers, political opponents and journalists they say have been arbitrarily jailed. The list includes Ramy Shaath, a political activist held for more than year in pretrial detention, and Ramy Kamel, a Coptic Christian activist.

They note that several U.S. citizens have been jailed and call for the release of the brother of a Pennsylvania teacher. Reem Mo-

hamed Desouky was released in May and returned to the United States, but her brother remains incarcerated since he went to visit her in prison.

They also call for a fair public trial or the release of Khaled Hassan, an Egyptian-American limousine driver from New York imprisoned since January 2018 on charges he joined an Islamic State affiliate. He denies the allegations.

Several relatives of Mohamed Soltan, a former prisoner and activist now based in Northern Virginia, also remain in jail. Supporters say they were arrested in an apparent effort to pressure Soltan into dropping a lawsuit he filed against a senior Egyptian official whom he accused of playing a role in his imprisonment and torture.

“Hostage-taking is illegal and

unacceptable under any circumstances,” the lawmakers write.

The lawmakers say they are “appalled” by the deaths of Egyptian filmmaker Shady Habash and U.S. citizen Mustafa Kassem in prison. Kassem, a diabetic, died in January of apparent heart failure after spending more than six years in prison.

The lawmakers urge the Sissi government to release prisoners “before their wrongful imprisonment becomes a death sentence due to the coronavirus pandemic.” They noted that a well-known journalist, Mohamed Monir, contracted the virus in pretrial detention and later died at a Cairo hospital.

“It is clear that the extreme overcrowding, poor hygiene and lack of access to adequate health care in the Egyptian prison sys-

tem endanger the health and lives of all detainees,” the lawmakers say. “That risk is compounded now that new reports of covid-19 cases among prison workers and detainees have emerged.”

Human rights activists welcomed the letter as a victory of sorts.

“The relentless advocacy of human rights groups in the past few years is paying off, and members are listening,” said Soltan, who

“This should be a clear warning to the Egyptian government that they need to change their ways.”

Rep. Ro Khanna (D-Calif.)

runs the Freedom Initiative, a prisoner’s advocacy group. “There is a growing sense that the bilateral relationship needs a reassessment, especially as Sissi’s regime grows more resistant to pressure on the deteriorating human rights conditions.”

The letter, he said, sets the tone for the next Congress “to champion individual political prisoner’s cases, and the improvement of the dismal human rights situation in Egypt.”

Khanna described the letter as a “significant first step.” He likened it to congressional efforts to apply pressure on Saudi Arabia to stop its involvement in the war in Yemen. That also began with letters and escalated into resolutions, laws and restrictions on arms sales and other U.S. support.

The lawmaker did not rule out cutting or freezing the \$1.3 billion in U.S. military aid Egypt receives annually — a stick previous administrations have used as leverage to press for democratic reforms.

“This should be a clear warning to the Egyptian government that they need to change their ways,” Khanna said. “It’s not intended to be punitive as a first step. But if there continues to be no progress, then Congress will have to look at all of the options.”

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CAPITAL BUSINESS



Lorenzo Caltagirone, owner of Total Party — Party, Costumes & Novelties, hangs up a sign in his store on Oct. 1 in Arlington. Sales have been down leading into Halloween for the store because of the pandemic, and independent retailers nationwide are having the same issue.

PHOTOS BY MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

Halloween’s biggest scare: Bankruptcy

An October sales peak usually carries costume and party retailers through the rest of the year. Now, though, coronavirus shutdowns have canceled parties, and firms nationwide aren’t sure they’ll survive.

BY ABHA BHATTARAI

This was supposed to be the biggest Halloween of Lorenzo Caltagirone’s career.

For the first time in 95 years, it would fall on both a full moon and a Saturday — an equation that normally would mean big profits for his Virginia costume shop. Instead, sales are down 80 percent, and he is running low on cash.

“I’ve never been this worried before,” said Caltagirone, who opened his Virginia store in 2007, just before the last recession, and says Total Party — Party, Costumes & Novelties is barely hanging on. “After all these years of business, this Halloween could actually be the one that puts me out.”

Costume shops, party stores and seasonal pop-ups that rely on Halloween for the bulk of their profits say they’re bracing for a steep drop-off in sales that could tip them into insolvency. Halloween spending is expected to fall 8 percent, to \$8.05 billion, with costume sales accounting for much of the decline, according to the National Retail Federation.

With grown-up celebrations — costume parties, block parties and holiday bar crawls — largely on hold this year because of the pandemic, early sales have mostly been confined to lawn decorations and children’s costumes. Shop owners say that shift is impacting their bottom lines: Adult costumes and accessories, which can easily add up to more than \$100, typically bring in the majority of their seasonal revenue and profits.

“Halloween is a make-or-break time for smaller seasonal retailers,” said Diane Swonk, chief economist at Grant Thornton. “They wait all year for October. Now the pandemic is going to put many of them back an entire year, if not more.”

Kharolina Lampe, who runs a costume shop in Honolulu, typically rents out hundreds of elaborate outfits for Halloween. But this year she has yet to receive a single order.

The local economy, she said, has been devastated by a lack of tourism. Hawaii’s unemploy-



Lorenzo Caltagirone poses in his store on Oct. 1 in Arlington. He ordered inventory and signed a lease right before the pandemic.

ment rate of 12.5 percent is one of the worst in the nation, and Lampe says it could be years before she and other small-business owners recover. She recently closed her storefront and now operates the business from home.

“The economy has been so bad,” said Lampe, who started Kharolina Costumes in 1979. “Just about every other costume shop in Honolulu went out of business a while back — and I probably should have too, to be honest.”

Public officials have cautioned Americans against traditional Halloween activities. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention is advising families to avoid trick-or-treating, hayrides and fall festivals this year, while Los Angeles County has banned Halloween parties and haunted houses.

Retailers of all sizes are having to adapt. Party City is opening just 25 Halloween pop-ups this year, a 91 percent drop from the 275 it ran last year. Spirit Halloween, meanwhile, is offering delivery through Instacart and is selling themed face masks and bags on a stick so trick-or-treaters can collect candy from an arm’s length away.

Small businesses, meanwhile, say they’re at a particular disadvantage. Big-box retailers and online sellers have been cutting

into their revenue for years, but it’s become more difficult than ever to win back customers at a time when many are still worried about shopping in stores. More than 100,000 small businesses have permanently closed during the pandemic, while Walmart, Target and Amazon continue to post record sales growth. (Amazon’s founder, Jeff Bezos, owns The Washington Post.)

In Maplewood, Minn., Costumes Plus has rearranged its store to allow for social distancing and other safety precautions. All of the shop’s mannequins now wear masks, and the season’s most topical products, including hazmat suits and plague doctor costumes, have been moved to the front of the store.

But sales are about half of what they usually are.

“It’s definitely a lot slower than usual,” said manager Lucia Berocay. “The two weeks leading up to Halloween are usually shoulder-to-shoulder packed in here, but that’s just not going to happen this year. The demand just isn’t there, and even if it was, we have to have strict occupancy limits.”

While some items — like spooky home decorations, children’s costumes and Halloween-themed face masks — remain in high demand, store owners and economists say they expect an overall drop in consumer spend-

ing as millions of families are dealing with job losses and sustained financial insecurity. The national unemployment rate, 7.9 percent, is more than double what it was a year ago, at 3.5 percent. And though more than half of the jobs lost in March and April have been recovered, the monthly jobs report released Friday shows the economic recovery is slowing.

“Obviously nobody knows what the world will be like in a month from now, so everything is up in the air,” said Katrin Gielens, a professor at the University of North Carolina’s Kenan-Flagler Business School. “People still want to celebrate Halloween, but they’re finding new ways to do it. Instead of buying candy for the whole neighborhood, maybe they’re just buying it for their family, which will have a spillover effect on businesses.”

Caltagirone had just finalized orders for thousands of costumes and signed a three-year lease on his Arlington store when the pandemic took hold in March. He closed shop and canceled as many orders as he could.

He reopened in June with reduced hours and two employees instead of eight. But there was little demand for just about everything Caltagirone sells, including greeting cards, balloons and tableware. He used two government loans — one from the Paycheck Protection Program and an Economic Injury Disaster Loan — to help make ends meet.

But that money is mostly gone now. Shoppers are beginning to trickle back, mainly to buy inflatable decorations and children’s costumes. Not selling as well are the aisles of adult costumes, inspired by “Mulan,” “Tiger King” and the presidential election that he ordered back in February. If he doesn’t make at least 50 percent of the sales he did in October 2019, Caltagirone says he will probably have to close.

“Halloween carries us through the rest of the year,” he said. “You can go a quarter, maybe two, without sales, but to go until next year — well, that’s just not doable.”

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USPS: Visiting facilities could violate Hatch Act

Members of Congress up for reelection have been barred from inspections

BY JACOB BOGAGE

The U.S. Postal Service is blocking members of Congress from inspecting postal facilities despite questions about the handling of mail-in ballots to avoid putting its workforce at “unreasonable risk” of violating the Hatch Act, according to newly obtained emails between agency officials and congressional staff members.

Three Democrats — Reps. Jared Huffman (Calif.), Debbie Wasserman Schultz (Fla.) and Bill Pascrell Jr. (N.J.) — have been denied access to postal buildings in their home states in the past six weeks. Lawmakers often tour agencies to gather insight that could shape their decision-making and maintain government accountability.

The Postal Service is citing the Hatch Act, which prohibits civil servants from certain partisan activities, and in-house ethics rules in turning away tour requests from anyone on a ballot within 45 days of a primary or general election. Under those guidelines, more than 85 percent of Congress — every member of the House, which has two-year terms, and a third of the Senate, where terms are six years — plus thousands more state and local officials are prohibited from visiting mail facilities. However, under federal guidelines, such restrictions cannot prevent elected officials from “appropriately representing their constituents.”

“The post office is subject to oversight by Congress. That’s what the law says,” Pascrell said in an interview. As such, it must submit to “unceasing oversight from the democratically elected representatives.”

“Last I looked, I’m one of them. I intend to visit Kearny,” he said, referencing the New Jersey facility. “This is not Area 51.”

The lawmakers were turned away as the agency was grappling with service slowdowns that voting rights advocates, Democrats and large swaths of the public fear could interfere with the Nov. 3 election. Postmaster General Louis DeJoy instituted operational changes, including stricter transportation timelines, within weeks of taking office that led to massive mail backlogs this summer. About 7 percent of all first-class mail was snagged up in the slowdowns, according to an analysis conducted by the office of Sen. Gary Peters (Mich.), the chamber’s leading Democrat on postal oversight.

During the transition period, with on-time delivery rates for first-class mail decreasing by nearly 10 percentage points, President Trump announced that he would block emergency pandemic funding from reaching the agency to hamper its ability to facilitate mail-in voting. The ensuing backlash from Democrats and voting rights groups prompted DeJoy — a GOP fundraiser and major Trump booster — to suspend parts of his cost-cutting regimen but left in place his transportation schedule, though in recent weeks it has been struck down by federal courts in New York, Pennsylvania, Washington state and the District of Columbia.

In late August, House and Senate panels called DeJoy to testify about the delivery slowdowns. The House Oversight and Reform Committee subpoenaed documents on the service problems and DeJoy’s contacts with members of the Trump administration and campaign. Afterward, a handful of lawmakers asked to tour postal facilities to discuss operational issues with local workers and supervisors.

Agency officials warned Pascrell’s office that his request to tour the Dominic V. Daniels Processing and Distribution Center in Kearny, N.J., on Sept. 21 would place workers at “unreasonable risk” of violating the Hatch Act, according to emails obtained by The Washington Post. The Postal Service also cited the Hatch Act when it turned down Huffman’s request to visit to a post office in Eureka, Calif., on Aug. 17.

“Members of Congress have a responsibility to conduct oversight of federal services, particularly when we hear from constituents that those services are not functioning properly,” said Peters, who visited two postal facilities over the summer. “Pressure from Congress and the public have helped put a stop to some of the changes that were causing harmful mail delays, and we must be

allowed to continue shining a light on the Postal Service’s operations.”

Rep. Brenda Lawrence (D-Mich.), a retired postal worker, said in an interview: “I understand sometimes people may be critical of the debate that we have in Congress. But there’s an expectation from the people when we campaign, we tell our constituents that we are going to listen to them. We’re going to fight for them. We’re going to be their voice. And we’re going to ensure the government. For me, that’s a very strong commitment.”

In an emailed statement, Postal Service spokesman David Parteneheimer wrote that although the agency “welcomes” visits from members of Congress, it takes its responsibilities with respect to the Hatch Act very seriously.

He said the agency revised its ethics guidelines in 2018 to ban candidates for federal, state and local office from visiting facilities within 45 days of an election. The prohibition applies only to elected officials, not their staff members, he said.

“Given the heated nature of campaigns, and the fact that our employees’ views run the full range of political opinions, the potential for an employee to knowingly or unwittingly violate the Hatch Act — and be held to account by another employee — is simply too great,” Scott Slusher, a manager in the Postal Service’s government liaison office, wrote to Pascrell’s staff in an email obtained by The Post.

Experts say the Postal Service should curtail visits that are clearly political in nature to shield postal workers and the agency from being used by campaigns. But, according to guidance issued in 2018 from the Office of Special Counsel, these safeguards should not apply to elected officials visiting federal facilities for an “official purpose, such as receiving briefings, tours, or other official information.”

Several high-ranking members of the Trump administration have come under fire over possible Hatch Act violations. Ethics watchdogs criticized the White House for staging the Republican Party’s nominating convention on the South Lawn of the White House in August. Presidential advisers Kellyanne Conway and Ivanka Trump have been accused of using their positions to hawk products. Political appointees of either party are rarely disciplined — or prosecuted — for such behavior.

But those actions, experts say, were overtly political and had little to do with the business of governing the country. Congressional oversight visits are an important tool for lawmakers to hold the executive branch accountable and conduct research that goes into drafting and voting on legislation.

“They have legitimate congressional legislative constitutional responsibilities to oversee the executive branch, which includes the Postal Service. And to suddenly say a month and a half out of an election in an election year that they just can’t do that — they can’t visit as part of their constitutional responsibilities — is pretty bizarre to me,” said Nick Schwellenbach, a senior investigator at the watchdog group Project on Government Oversight. “Of course, our postal employees should be shielded from being swept up into a campaign while they’re on the job. . . . But saying a postal worker could somehow violate the Hatch Act because Bill Pascrell Jr. visits a postal facility to see what’s going on because there are genuine concerns about the processing of mail and mail-in ballots, that’s absurd.”

Pascrell’s office requested a visit 43 days before the Nov. 3 vote. He last visited the facility in October 2018, according to a spokesperson, well within 45 days of the midterm elections.

Even this summer, the Postal Service appears to have unevenly applied its visitation policies. A week after Peters and Lawrence visited a facility outside Detroit, Huffman was refused a meeting with a local postmaster in California. Within the next two weeks, though, the Postal Service granted Peters another inspection, and Sen. Debbie Stabenow (D-Mich.) visited a postal plant in Lansing, Mich.

The week after Peters’s second inspection, Postal Inspection Service officers blocked Wasserman Schultz from entering facilities in Miami and Opa-Locka, Fla.

Huffman, in an interview, described the events as “outrageous.” “I represent my constituents, and that’s the people they serve,” he said. “To even presume that this had anything to do with the campaign is itself insulting.”

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APPOINTMENTS

COMPANIES

Ankura of the District appointed **Tom Crawford** chief development officer.

FCP of Chevy Chase appointed **Moriah Thomas Parker** vice president of portfolio management and investor relations.

JK Moving Services of Sterling appointed **Mark Dineen** project director for installation services and **Alyson Nash** director of installation services.

Ruppert Landscape of **Laytonsville** appointed **Jamison Moore** director of

information technology and **Jason Dixon** director of business development.

REAL ESTATE

Urban Investment Partners of the District appointed **Tracey Harris-Sanford** controller.

LAW AND LOBBYING

Holland & Knight of Tysons appointed **Abraham Colman**, **Travis Sabalewski** and **Howard Clemons** partners, **Raymond Kim** of counsel, **Zachary Frampton**, **Jonathan Marmo**, **Christopher Murphy**, **Justin**

Sizemore, **Brandon White** and **Ariel Wossene** associates, **John Joseph** staff attorney, and **Sydney Bopp** senior public affairs adviser in the firm’s public policy and regulation practice group.

Davis Polk of the District appointed **Uzo Asonye** partner in the firm’s white-collar defense and investigations group.

Levy Firestone Muse of the District appointed **Monique Abrishami** partner in the firm’s civil litigation and white-collar criminal law practice.

Lowenstein of the District appointed **Jonathan Lewis** partner.

Ropes & Gray of the District appointed **Margaux Hall** health-care partner.

Sidley of the District appointed **Sujit Raman** partner.

Willkie of the District appointed **Chip Lunde** partner in the firm’s asset management group.

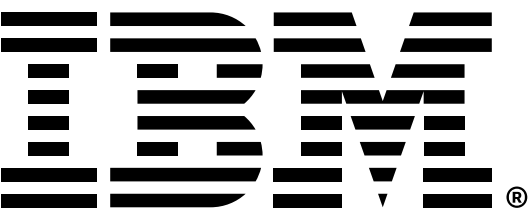
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Biology and behavior put men at higher risk of dying

"If you look at the data across the world, there are as many men as women that are infected. It's just the severity of disease that is stronger in most populations in men," Franck Mauvais-Jarvis, a Tulane University physician who studies gender differences in diseases such as diabetes. In such cases, biology can help explain why.

That study found throttled defense signals in men. When a cell detects a virus, it performs the molecular equivalent of yanking

Lieberman and her co-authors, however, found that in men and some older populations, the fire alarm shuts off early — maybe even before the firefighters have arrived. “That, I think, is the functional consequence, potentially, of what we’re seeing here,” she said.

Ninety-five of 101 people with autoantibodies against interferon were male. "Somehow males are probably more prone to devel-

"There are thousands of people suffering from chronic symptoms," which may be debilitating, Iwasaki said. Many long-haulers are young and the majority of them, though not all, are women.

Broadly speaking, men may be less likely to be worried about the virus than women, fitting the pattern that women generally treat health risks more seriously. Women took a more cautious approach to the virus, a recent poll found, expressing more concern they could return to workplaces safely. Women are also more likely to follow expert advice such as mask-wearing and

Even agencies at the forefront of public health, such as the CDC, were initially slow to reveal sex-disaggregated coronavirus data,

Mauvais-Jarvis referred to this faulty approach as “bikini medicine” — in which clinicians view female patients as interchangeable with male ones, except for the organs covered by swimwear. The coronavirus has helped accelerate the trend away from that outdated view. The “one positive that’s come out of the pandemic,” Hawkes said, is the sudden realization that gendered social factors and biology “may have a relationship with your life expectancy, your experience with illness, your risk of illness. It has made that conversation a little bit more real.”

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THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC

As virus rages, GOP leaders stress ‘personal responsibility’

VIRUS FROM A1

Burgum said, describing recommendations for safe behavior, but no new requirements.

Public health experts say that is an inadequate prescription, one that carries great peril as infections climb, the weather drives people indoors and large segments of the population are proving less willing to take the virus seriously.

“This really demands a coordinated, orchestrated, higher-level response than just saying to an individual person, ‘Here’s what you might want to try,’ ” said David Aronoff, director of the Division of Infectious Diseases at the Vanderbilt University School of Medicine.

An overreliance on personal responsibility, health officials say, is one of the reasons America’s struggle with the coronavirus has been so destructive, with more than 8 million cases and at least 219,000 people dead. And they maintain it is unlikely to be the solution now — especially as Republican leaders from President Trump on down send misleading messages and model dangerous behavior.

Covid-19, the disease the coronavirus causes, sent Trump to a hospital for four days this month, with doctors deploying the latest therapeutics — drugs unavailable to many Americans. Yet he has continued to cast doubt on the effectiveness of masks while maintaining that people should not be “afraid” of the coronavirus and bashing public health measures intended to limit viral spread.

Republican governors have mimicked aspects of that stance. While Democratic governors in blue states such as New York, New Mexico and California have rolled back reopening plans in response to rising coronavirus rates, the opposite has been true of Republican leaders in red states where the virus is now running rampant.

Coronavirus hospitalizations in Iowa have regularly hit new highs this month, and the state last week surpassed 1,500 total deaths. But Iowa Gov. Kim Reynolds has refused to revisit her decision to lift most restrictions on businesses and to allow students back to class without masks.

Trump, the Republican said, was “right. We can’t let covid-19 dominate our lives.”

Texas Gov. Greg Abbott (R), meanwhile, has forged ahead with plans to reopen bars, despite the fact that infectious-disease specialists say they are a prime vector for coronavirus transmission. The state has been averaging nearly 5,000 new cases and nearly 100 deaths each day. But Abbott said he saw no reason Texas would not “be able to reopen 100 percent.”

In South Dakota — which together with its neighbor to the north has had the fastest-growing coronavirus infection rate in the



DAN KOECK/BLOOMBERG NEWS

A health worker administers a coronavirus test last week in Fargo, N.D. The state is among many that have seen a recent rise in infections.

country — Gov. Kristi L. Noem (R) has played down the significance of the climbing caseload, claiming that it’s due to testing and is “normal.”

“We have triple the amount of testing that we’re doing in the state of South Dakota, which is why you’re seeing elevated positive cases,” she said. “That is normal. That’s natural. That’s expected.”

But a rise in tests would not explain why hospitalization and death rates have also spiked.

Noem has become a star in Trump’s circle by joining in his antagonism toward mainstream scientific opinion: She is one of the few governors who refused to issue a stay-at-home order in the spring, has repeatedly questioned the validity of using masks to reduce viral spread and hosted the president for a massive, tightly packed Fourth of July celebration at Mount Rushmore.

The state’s struggles now, critics say, are the inevitable result of a failure to take the virus seriously.

“Covid in our state has exploded,” said Linda Duba, a Democratic state legislator. “And that’s unfortunately to be expected when there is no encouragement from our leaders to mask, to social distance or to take basic precautions.”

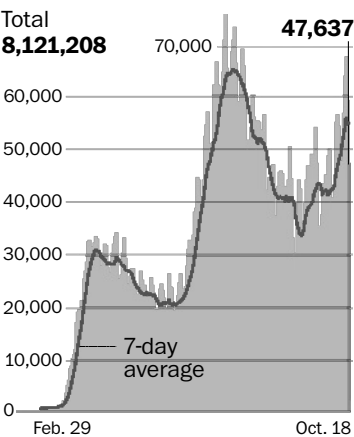
Late last week, the state of fewer than 900,000 people was racking up around 900 new cases a day, with around 300 people hospitalized.

More than 300 people have

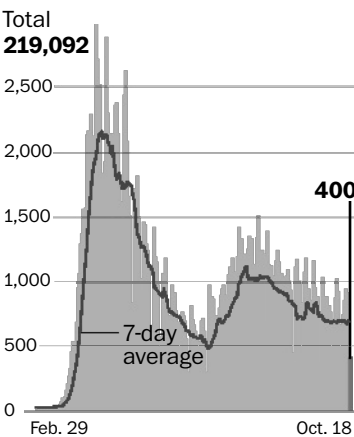
New coronavirus cases and deaths in the U.S., by day

As of 8 p.m. Sunday

CASES



DEATHS



died statewide, with one of Duba’s colleagues in the state House of Representatives among them. Yet when legislators packed the floor in the state capitol to listen to Noem’s speech during a special session this month, Duba said, she could count on 10 fingers the number wearing masks.

“I sat at the very back and high-tailed it out of there as soon as the speech was over,” she said.

The lax attitude toward masks displayed by politicians can be seen among the public, much to the frustration of front-line hospital workers.

Benjamin Aaker, an emergency room doctor, said he and his colleagues have been “proclaiming from the rooftops” the virtues of masks and social distancing. But to little effect.

were getting little cooperation from the public in fighting the virus.

Mask usage in the state remains low, she said, and contact tracers have found that people who test positive routinely lie.

“The tracers will ask, ‘How many people in your household?’ ‘Just me.’ ‘Have you been anywhere?’ ‘Nope,’ ” she said, recounting a typical conversation. “Now, we live in a small enough area that we know that that’s just not truthful.”

While Burgum, the governor, has been preaching “personal responsibility” for months, Moch said a mask mandate would be more effective in clarifying how people can protect themselves — and each other.

“People need to know the impact of their decisions,” Moch said. “And I don’t think public officials have been very clear about that.”

While North Dakota had avoided a serious bout with the coronavirus until recently, other states have endured earlier waves and thought they had the disease beaten — only to find it roaring back.

When Tennessee Gov. Bill Lee lifted his few remaining restrictions at the end of September, leaders of the Volunteer State seemed to think they had brought their coronavirus outbreak under control.

“Tennesseans have learned how to assess risk and how to take the right steps to protect themselves and those around them,”

Lee (R) said at a news conference at the time.

Two weeks later, however, cases are surging once again. Lee is quarantining after exposure to an infected security staff member. And experts say the state’s struggles should be a lesson that the pandemic requires constant vigilance — and an aggressive re-

“People need to know the impact of their decisions.”

Renae Moch, public health director in Bismarck, N.D.

sponse.

“You can almost follow the timeline as for when things got loosened and when the spike came,” said Alex Jahangir, a physician who chairs the Nashville Metropolitan Board of Health. He also noted it would be “very helpful if the state would reimpose some of the stuff they had before.”

Tennessee, for months, largely has left it in the hands of local leaders to set rules concerning the pandemic. Masks, for example, never have been mandated by the state; instead, Lee has signed orders allowing counties to set policies of their own.

The result has been a messy patchwork of protections, with rules that vary depending on geography.

Davidson County, the sprawling central Tennessee expanse that includes Nashville, has required face coverings for its workers, residents and visitors for months. But there’s no such rule in many other parts of the state, including an hour’s drive south, in Maury County, which hosted a record-breaking 22,000 people for an annual fair last month, according to local media outlets.

In South Dakota, there is no statewide mask mandate and the cities have nearly all declined to impose their own. The college town of Brookings is the lone exception, with councilors passing a restriction last month following contentious public hearings.

Local leaders had feared that without more protections, Brookings would be overrun by outbreaks this fall as students returned to school.

The mandate has helped, with residents largely complying, said Nick Wendell, a council member who backed it. But he noted that outlying areas of the county lack a mandate, and that has led to uncertainty.

South Dakota may be the “land of infinite variety,” as the informal motto goes. But “it would be helpful if we were all linking arms and doing this together. Folks are confused. Folks are tired,” Wendell said. “And when you have mixed messaging, that’s challenging.”

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AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

EDITORIALS

A ray of hope for felons’ voting rights

A report shows progress after years of soaring disenfranchisement.

SINCE THE mid-1980s, about half the states have changed their laws to expand voting rights for convicted felons, generally those who have already served their sentences. Yet until recently, the number of convicts shut out of the polls soared anyway, a product largely of the nation’s enthusiasm for locking up even nonviolent criminals. Virtually no Western democracy disenfranchises so many of its citizens as the United States — and a hugely disproportionate number of those barred from voting are Black.

Against that dispiriting backdrop, there is finally a ray of good news: In this presidential election year, for the first time in decades, the number of Americans disenfranchised owing to a felony conviction has fallen, to about 5.2 million, nearly a million fewer than in 2016. About a quarter of them remain behind bars; the rest are ex-convicts who remain deprived of their full rights even though they are no longer incarcerated.

Those figures, contained in a new study by the

nonpartisan Sentencing Project, reflect an encouraging recent trend; they also suggest how deep a hole remains for many ensnared in the criminal justice system. In parts of the Deep South and a few other states, more than 1 in 7 African Americans cannot vote because of a felony conviction. In Tennessee, Mississippi and Alabama, more than 8 percent of all adults are shut out from the polls because of felony convictions. Nationally, the number of past and present convicts stripped of voting rights has grown nine times faster than the population as a whole since 1976.

Then there’s Florida, where a Republican crusade to deprive citizens of the vote is its own special disgrace. In the Sunshine State alone, some 1.1 million felons are barred from the polls, including 900,000 who are no longer behind bars. For that, blame the efforts of GOP state lawmakers for successfully reversing the intent of nearly two-thirds of Floridians who voted in a referendum to restore former felons’ voting rights in 2018.

Nationwide, roughly 6.2 percent of Black adults have been disenfranchised, nearly four times the share of other Americans similarly barred from the polls. Add that to the evidence of the structural and systemic racism that remains a stubborn feature of the nation’s troubled history of voting rights.

Still, there is reason for optimism. Throughout the Northeast and most of the Midwest, those who have lost the vote are limited mainly to current inmates. In the past few years, a Republican governor in Iowa and Democratic governors in Kentucky and Virginia have issued executive orders restoring the vote to most ex-convicts who have completed their sentences. The trajectory is encouraging even among Blacks, the disenfranchised share of whom has fallen by about a quarter since 2004.

In the march toward a more perfect union — one in which those who have paid their debt to society are made whole — progress remains halting. But at least there is progress.

Why they stopped a smear

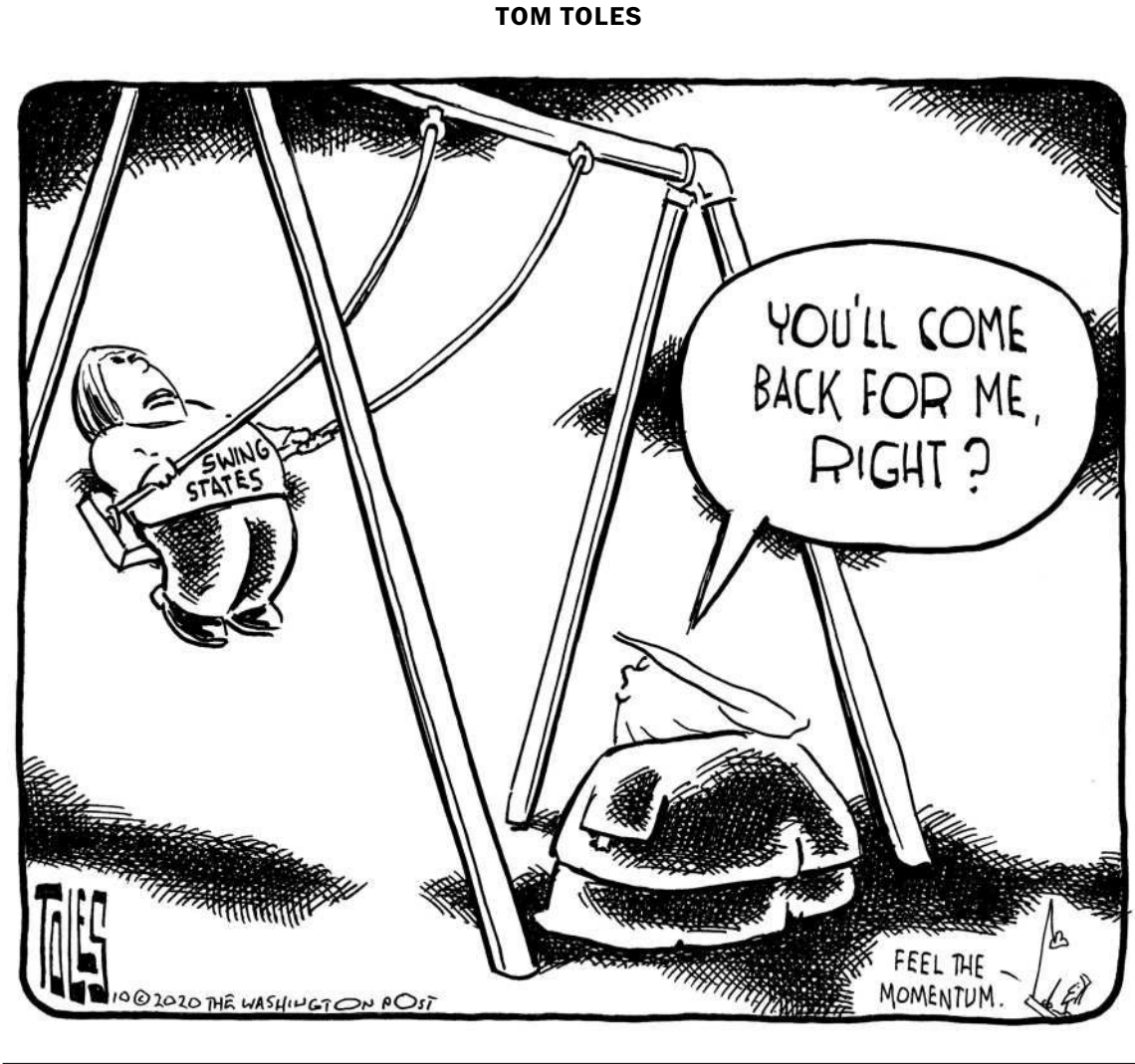
Facebook and Twitter are quashing dubious stories, but how they go about it is vital.

FACEBOOK AND TWITTER don’t want to make the same mistakes that marred this country’s last presidential election, but righting old wrongs can introduce new obstacles.

Last week, Facebook reduced the distribution of a dubious story by the New York Post that smeared Democratic nominee Joe Biden, pending third-party fact-checking. Twitter blocked the URL from being shared altogether. Both platforms made the correct decision to slow what so far seem to be baseless accusations backed up by leaked emails of murky origin — yet the way the sites made that decision matters, too. The confusing and opaque process that accompanied the positive outcome threatens to render pyrrhic any victory over the forces of misinformation and meddling.

Facebook justified its choice according to a year-old policy intended to prevent posts from spreading widely when the site detects “signals” of falsehood. This is a smart rule — a sort of circuit-breaker to stop the platform’s own internal mechanics from catapulting a lie to viral status. The problem is that no one knows what the signals in question are: whether they are based on objective measures such as the number of people who reshare a piece and then delete their resharing, or whether they are based on subjective surmises such as the possibility, in this case, that the New York Post article was part of a propaganda campaign against the former vice president. And though Facebook says it has applied this stricture before in sensitive situations, it’s not standard practice.

Twitter, on the other hand, based its more radical intervention on an entirely distinct standard: a prohibition on the sharing of hacked materials. Critics were quick to ask why this restriction didn’t also apply to the New York Times’s reporting on President Trump’s tax returns, or any number of prizewinning journalistic products from years past. Twitter backtracked, announcing that it will now only remove hacked content directly shared by hackers or accomplices, and that the inclusion of personal details in the New



York Post story was actually responsible for the URL-blocking. But Twitter never shared its basis for believing the materials were hacked. And while the site doesn’t have a general policy against misinformation, it strains credulity to imagine that its action had nothing to do with doubting the legitimacy of the story it shut down.

The contradictions that came with these calls have stirred up a fresh firestorm of accusations of anti-conservative censorship. Allegations of partisan bias in content-moderation decisions have never been borne out by the evidence. Yet it’s much easier to

launch such allegations when platforms aren’t clear about precisely what their rules are and precisely how they’re being applied. Twitter would do well to develop a comprehensive misinformation policy; Facebook should better explain how its current misinformation policy actually operates. And both must figure out how their existing policies interact with the concerns about hack-and-leaks haunting the upcoming election. One way of restoring trust in the public sphere is to stem the transmission of untrue tales — but that can create distrust of its own unless it is done forthrightly.

The urgency of stimulus talks

Mr. Trump may be realizing that helping the economy is in his own political interest.

PRESIDENT TRUMP is nothing if not erratic. And, for once, this usually toxic characteristic is proving beneficial, in a limited sense: Almost as suddenly as he initially announced it on Oct. 6, he abandoned his refusal to talk about a new round of economic stimulus funding with House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.), and instead ordered his secretary of the Treasury, Steven Mnuchin, to reengage. In fact, rather than emphasizing the excessiveness of Democratic proposals, Mr. Trump now says he wants Mr. Mnuchin to “go big or go home.” With coronavirus cases surging and new unemployment claims stuck at nearly 900,000 per week, the U.S. economic recovery needs additional support from the federal government.

The parties reported some progress on one key issue, coronavirus testing and contact tracing, with Mr. Mnuchin moving toward Ms. Pelosi’s position that the federal government, not the states, should

take the lead on administering a \$75 billion program — though Ms. Pelosi said on Sunday that amendments later proposed by Mr. Mnuchin largely neutered the concession. The total size of the Trump administration proposal is nearly \$1.9 trillion, approaching Ms. Pelosi’s \$2.2 trillion. Perhaps it is dawning on the president that helping the economy before the election is in his political interest. The speaker, meanwhile, is coming under some useful pressure from those of her own House members who also see the political upside of taking a deal. But on Sunday she set a 48-hour deadline for agreement on a bill that could pass before the election, while suggesting the gaps between the two sides remain wide.

Even if Ms. Pelosi and Mr. Mnuchin come to terms, the Senate would still have to go along. And for now, Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.), deferring to the misguided concerns about spending and deficits of some GOP senators, says no. Instead, he plans a

floor vote on a much smaller \$500 billion “targeted” package that would, among other things, aid small businesses and airlines but omit both the direct payments to households and state and local aid that a Pelosi-Mnuchin bill would include.

Perhaps Mr. McConnell is playing bad cop — trying to pressure Ms. Pelosi into striking a deal on terms more favorable to the GOP. Certainly that is the most hopeful interpretation of a position that otherwise makes little policy sense and leaves him and his caucus in deserved political isolation.

The American people continue to suffer the economic impact of the coronavirus, with the brunt of it being borne by low-income people and people of color. All sides involved in the negotiations over much-needed new funds should act with the urgency this situation requires. And this would be true even if voters did not have an opportunity to pass harsh judgment on Nov. 3 on those responsible for failure.

Trust in science is crucial

The Oct. 12 front-page article “Another casualty of 2020: Trust in science” observed that covid-19 therapies and vaccines have become entangled in the presidential election-year politics and explained how this has compromised the public’s trust in the work of our health agencies. There is some positive news about public trust, however, suggesting that this relates far more to the circumstances surrounding covid-19 than to Americans’ views on the value of science itself. Our recently commissioned survey shows overwhelming bipartisan confidence in science. Seventy-nine percent of Americans expressed confidence that scientists are working on their behalf, and 80 percent believe it is important for elected officials to listen to scientists.

Public trust in the covid-19 response can be regained. Not only must policymakers check their political aspirations at the door when lives are at stake, but also more scientists must convey information directly to the public about covid-19 and other urgent issues ripe for the spread of misinformation.

Science is neither Republican nor Democratic. It is a dispassionate process. Science is also not static — when a new threat like covid-19 arises, the science will evolve and so will the advice associated with it. Scientists are the best positioned to de-dramatize science and instill trust in the scientific process. Let’s engage them.

Mary Woolley, Arlington
The writer is president and chief executive of Research!America, a not-for-profit public education and advocacy alliance.

Regarding the Oct. 15 editorial “Confidence in vaccines needs a shot in the arm”:

By most accounts, the American public’s perception of a covid-19 vaccine is tainted — with disinformation. To ensure that more people will take a new vaccine, social scientists must join the public debate on the safety and efficacy of an approved vaccine.

The irony is rich: scientists are uniquely positioned to receive approval for a vaccine from the Food and Drug Administration. Still, soon after approval, the voices of scientists must fade into the white noise of the public debate. Because Americans have absorbed far too much disinformation during the race to approve a vaccine — much of which is related to it being an election year, and some that must be attributable to the lingering distrust of Operation Warp Speed.

Regrettably, after months of partisan bickering, the public debate has been weaponized and a vaccine is increasingly becoming something to be feared, not celebrated.

Mark M. Spradley, Chevy Chase

Integrity — and its opposite

The excellent Oct. 12 Style article “A justice who could have been marches on” revealed the not widely reported fact that Republicans, now hypocritically considering Judge Amy Coney Barrett’s nomination weeks before the election, heaped chutzpah on top of hypocrisy when Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) and Sen. Mike Lee (R-Utah) advocated for the Trump administration to nominate Judge Merrick Garland to fill the FBI director vacancy following James B. Comey’s firing in May 2017.

Just a year after Republicans refused to take up his nomination for the Supreme Court seat left by the death of Antonin Scalia, Judge Garland was recommended to fill the FBI vacancy because he was an “apolitical professional,” said Mr. McConnell at the time, and because he had “high-level federal law enforcement experience” and a “reputation for integrity,” among other superlatives, said a source involved in the selection process. Then-Deputy Attorney General Rod J. Rosenstein approached Judge Garland about the FBI position.

But the article reported another “theory” about the offer: It would open a vacancy on the important U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit, the “second-most-powerful court in the nation.”

Such is the audacity of attempting to use this judge’s stellar and impeccable judicial reputation to procure a judicial vacancy from a man for whom that same reputation was deemed irrelevant just months before, when these same senators refused to consider his Supreme Court nomination.

Judge Garland, who declined this cynical ploy, retains his integrity. That cannot be said for these Republican senators.

Tom Clark, Bethesda

According to my copy of the Constitution, the preamble states as one of its provisions that the U.S. government is to “promote the general welfare” of its citizens. Even though it’s only the preamble, it is part of the Constitution. Doesn’t the health of U.S. citizens come under general welfare?

I, therefore, don’t see how Judge Amy Coney Barrett or the Supreme Court could knock down the Affordable Care Act. President Trump and the Republicans in Congress have been saying for four years that they have a better plan but have yet to put one forward. It’s egregious that the United States is the only major country on this planet that doesn’t look out for and protect the health of its citizenry.

Jay H. Miller, Bethesda

Discounting the Constitution

Regarding the Oct. 14 front-page article “Justices: Census count can end”:

The Supreme Court ruling that the Trump administration can end the 2020 Census early, despite a lower court’s ruling that such a move is unlawful, smacks of partisanship. What other explanation could there be, considering the country is in the middle of a pandemic and the original deadline was Oct. 31?

This ruling will allow President Trump to control the numbers used in the distribution of federal funding. These numbers will also favor Republicans when drawing legislative districts.

What a disservice the Supreme Court’s ruling has done to the country. By allowing the count to be stopped early, this ruling has put getting an accurate count at risk.

Supreme Court justices say they rule according to the Constitution. How can that be the case in this instance, when the Constitution requires that every “person” be counted in the census?

Dana Pavlis, Toledo

✉ Letters can be sent to letters@washpost.com. Submissions must be exclusive to The Post and should include the writer’s address and day and evening telephone numbers.

The Purple Line will be completed. The question is how.

Regarding the Oct. 10 Metro article “Transit agency takes on Purple Line contracts”:

I am most interested in how the state of Maryland finds a way forward and demonstrates progress in some aspect of the project’s transition to some other arrangement — the state managing the project, hiring another master contractor, or some combination or variation of the two — to build at least an increment of confidence with Marylanders.

Commenters to the article online noted that the Purple Line will never be completed. I doubt that would ever happen. The level of anger by residents from the torn-up roads and incompletions will overwhelm the state, and “giving up” is not a worthy rationale to justify sinking unrecoverable costs into the project. Going forward, the state will need to modify its position on this project if it wants to attract another contractor. Otherwise, the infrastructure community will tag the project as “tainted to toxic.”

The level of anger by residents from the torn-up roads and incompletions will overwhelm the state.

The state of Maryland simply cannot brush off the delays — the “specious lawsuit” (to quote The Post’s Sept. 25 editorial “Mr. Hogan’s problem to fix”), the protracted land acquisition and the problematic engineering issues — as completely unexpected and rationalize that the delays, particularly acquisition and engineering issues (i.e., change orders), and the associated cost increases were outside of its responsibility.

Mark Kissel, Chevy Chase

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E.J. DIONNE JR.

Our nutty, ranting Uncle Donny

What if the United States is not as divided and unhinged as it has seemed these past four years? What if the result of the 2016 election was primarily the product of a flawed electoral-college system, the mistaken assumption of too many voters and pundits that Donald Trump couldn't win, and a last-minute intervention by an FBI director?

What if Americans complain a lot about government but count on it to solve or contain major problems? What if the vast majority of Americans don't like extremism?

The answer: You would get something that looks an awful lot like the 2020 election going into its final two weeks.

Here's the biggest difference between the closing strategies of Trump and former vice president Joe Biden: Trump still believes the country loves him and what he had to say in 2016. Biden knows that we are, in the end, a normal country with normal aspirations and normal desires.

This was obvious in last Thursday's dueling town halls on ABC and NBC, and — unless his advisers persuade Trump to become a completely different person — it's likely to be just as obvious in this Thursday's debate.

What's often missed about Trump, Trumpism and the transformation of the Republican Party is that much of what is going on now harks back to the 1960s — but the other 1960s that most people don't think about. Not the civil rights and antiwar movements or the New Left, but the far right that was at least as important at the time: the John Birch Society, the Minutemen, the White Citizens' Councils and comparable groups. This wacky right wing has gained more traction in our time than it did then because of right-wing media and an Internet that did not exist 60 years ago.

Trump is both a product and an instigator of this radicalization. He sees far, far-right conspiracists as an important part of his political base. Thus, when NBC's Savannah Guthrie asked Trump about the QAnon conspiracy theory holding that, as she put it, "Democrats are a satanic pedophile ring and that you are the savior," Trump insisted that he knew "nothing" about its supporters except that "I do know they are very much against pedophilia. They fight it very hard."

That's a bit like saying, "I don't know much about the Ku Klux Klan, but I know they honor the American flag and fight very hard for it."

And when the intrepid Guthrie asked Trump about his retweeting "a conspiracy theory that Joe Biden orchestrated to have SEAL Team Six, the Navy SEAL Team Six, killed to cover up the fake death of bin Laden," Trump replied: "That was a retweet. I'll put it out there. People can decide for themselves."

To which Guthrie, to her everlasting credit, replied: "I don't get that, you're the president. You're not, like, someone's crazy uncle."

This is precisely what the country is coming to terms with: *Trump is exactly like someone's crazy uncle*. And because they hate liberals so much, most Republican politicians and many conservative commentators are ready to keep our government in the hands of an irrational, unstable extremist. The truest conservatives are thus those who oppose Trump. They see that the far right is radical, not conservative, and that even small-government conservatism depends on taking the government we have seriously.

All of which explains why Biden has led Trump in the RealClearPolitics polling average for more than a year. Voters recognize Biden as a thoroughly normal human being. His views are well inside the normal range of opinions, and his emotions allow for empathy, sorrow, self-awareness and even self-criticism. The warm, loquacious, in-the-weeds-about-your-problems Biden on display at the ABC town hall was the central-casting antithesis to the guy on the other network.

Thursday's debate is likely to bring this lesson home. If Trump is your crazy uncle, Biden is the warm relative who may talk too much but gives you generally sound, well-intentioned advice.

Yes, let's welcome all the doubts about Biden's lead being sown by those still suffering from PTSD about Trump's inside-straight victory in 2016. So many of the mistakes made four years ago — nonvoting, ballots for third parties, then-FBI director James B. Comey's disastrous October intervention, inadequate attention to the swing states — arose from a false certainty that Trump couldn't win. Prudence warns against overconfidence.

Nonetheless, there is good reason to believe that Biden's bet from the beginning of his campaign will be vindicated: that the United States is an imperfect but sane country. It's willing to don masks to fight disease. It wants to imagine Americans as capable of rising above racism. It rejects nutty conspiracy theories. And it knows which kind of uncle it can count on in a crisis.

Twitter: @EJDionne



JOHN SIBLEY/REUTERS

A mask-wearer, reflected in artwork, in London's Covent Garden on Friday.

Pursuing 'herd immunity' is the reckless, dead-wrong solution

BY TOM FRIEDEN

As the covid-19 pandemic continues in the United States and many parts of the world, millions of Americans are increasingly impatient for the economy and society to regain a more normal footing. Some "maverick scientists" with "an audience inside the White House," as The Post reported last week, argue for "allowing the coronavirus to spread freely at 'natural' rates among healthy young people while keeping most aspects of the economy up and running."

Their aim is to achieve "herd immunity," the concept that if enough people are immune, those without immunity can be protected. Usually this refers to immunity gained from vaccination; the goal of herd immunity has typically not been applied to a disease for which there is no vaccine.

There is a saying that for every complicated problem, a solution exists that is quick, simple — and wrong. That applies here: Pursuing herd immunity is the wrong, dead wrong, solution for the pandemic. Discussing such a reckless approach shouldn't be necessary, except that it echoes the misguided ideas of neuroradiologist Scott Atlas, who in recent months has become an influential medical adviser to President Trump.

Atlas, The Post reported, has relied on similar-minded scientists "to bolster his in-house arguments."

Less than 15 percent of Americans have been infected by the virus that causes covid-19. If immunity among those who have been infected and survived is strong and long-lasting (and it may well be neither), and if herd immunity kicks in at 60 percent infection of the population (and it might be higher), with a fatality rate of

0.5 percent among those infected, then at least another half-million Americans — in addition to the 220,000 who have already died — would have to die for the country to achieve herd immunity. And that's the best-case scenario. The number of deaths to get there could be twice as high.

The route to herd immunity would run through graveyards filled with Americans who did not have to die, because what starts in young adults doesn't stay in young adults. "Protecting the vulnerable," however appealing it may sound, isn't plausible if the virus is allowed to freely spread among younger people. We've seen this in families, communities and entire regions of the country. First come cases in young adults. Then the virus spreads to older adults and medically vulnerable people. Hospitalizations increase. And then deaths increase.

The vulnerable are not just a sliver of society. The 65-and-over population of the United States in 2018 was 52 million. As many as 60 percent of adults have a medical condition that increases their risk of death from covid-19 — with many unaware of their condition, which can include undiagnosed kidney disease, diabetes or cancer. The plain truth is that we cannot protect the vulnerable without protecting all of us.

A one-two punch is needed to knock out the virus — a combination approach, just as multiple drugs are used to treat infections such as HIV and tuberculosis. That in turn will allow the accelerated resumption of economic and social activity.

First, knock down the spread of the virus. The best way to do this is — as the country has been trying to do, with uneven success — to reduce close contact with others, especially in

crowded indoor spaces with poor ventilation. Increase adherence to the Three W's: wear a mask, watch your distance and wash your hands (or use sanitizer). Where restrictions have been loosened, track early-warning triggers and activate strategic closures to prevent an explosive spread.

Second, box the virus in to stop cases from becoming clusters and clusters from becoming outbreaks. Rapid testing should focus on those at greatest risk of having been exposed. The sooner people who are infectious get isolated, the fewer secondary cases there will be. That means rapid testing and rapid action when tests are positive. Close contacts need to be quarantined so that if they develop infection, the chain of transmission will stop with them.

A safe and effective vaccine may become available in the coming months — or it may not. Yet even if it were widely administered (a big if), it wouldn't end the pandemic. Even if a vaccine that's 70 percent effective is taken by 70 percent of people — optimistic estimates — that leaves half of the population unprotected. For the foreseeable future, masks will be in, at least indoors, and handshakes will be out.

Although there's no quick fix, this pandemic will end one day. In the interim, there are actions individuals, families and communities across the country can take to reduce risk. The sooner the virus is under control, the quicker and more complete the recovery will be.

The writer, a physician, is president and CEO of Resolve to Save Lives, an initiative of the global public health organization Vital Strategies, and former director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention from 2009 to 2017.

A Supreme Court ruling may require Barrett to recuse herself from 2020 election cases

BY J. MICHAEL LUTTIG

It is a foregone conclusion that Amy Coney Barrett will be seated on the Supreme Court before the Nov. 3 presidential election. As soon as her first day, Justice Barrett may face the most momentous and difficult decision of her promised tenure of decades: whether to recuse herself from cases that could determine the outcome of that presidential election.

At her confirmation hearings this past week, Barrett rightly deflected Democratic senators' demands that she commit in advance to recusal, wisely promising instead to seriously consider the question should it arise. Barrett herself almost certainly does not know whether recusal is required and will not know until she is actually confronted with the question.

But as Barrett must already understand, her decision was made exponentially more difficult by *Caperton v. A.T. Massey Coal Co.*, an inartful and mischievous 5-to-4 case decided more than a decade ago by the court she will soon join. The ruling would seem to apply squarely to Barrett's recusal decision and could well require, or at least counsel, her recusal.

Caperton involved a litigant who spent \$3 million to help elect a West Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals justice, who then voted to reverse a \$50 million damage award against his benefactor. The U.S. Supreme Court found that the judge should have recused himself. Writing for the majority, Justice Anthony M. Kennedy said that recusal may be constitutionally required even where a judge is not actually biased, if there is a "serious risk of actual bias."

Based on its appraisal of the "psychological tendencies and human weakness" of all of us, the majority concluded that the campaign spending had "signifi-

cant[ly] and disproportionate[ly]" influenced the judge's election while the case was pending or imminent, resulting in a perceived serious risk that the judge was biased in favor of his contributor. "Just as no man is allowed to be a judge in his own cause, similar fears of bias can arise when — without the other parties' consent — a man chooses the judge in his own cause," the court said.

The dissenters warned that the majority would come to regret its new test. "At the most basic level," wrote Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr., "it is unclear whether the [majority's] new probability of bias standard is somehow limited to financial support in judicial elections, or applies to judicial recusal questions more generally." Justice Antonin Scalia, while criticizing the majority for constitutionalizing the judge's recusal decision "in a manner ungoverned by any discernable rule," wrote that "in the best of all possible worlds, [judges should] sometimes recuse [themselves] even where the clear commands" of the Constitution don't require it.

The majority declined to grapple with Roberts's prescient question whether there is a principled difference between a case where a person has financially influenced a judge and one where the biasing influence is nonfinancial. But the majority's evident concern was over an influence — financial or not — that would be so overwhelming that a judge's psychological temptations and human weaknesses would necessarily yield to that influence, whether the judge recognized it.

The question for Barrett, if it arises, will not be whether she personally believes she can be fair in deciding an election case but, rather, whether a reasonable person would conclude that her impartiality would be inescapably overborne by the flood of influences brought to bear on her.

Among these pressures are her nomination, due to Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg's death, little more than a month before the election, the unavoidable fact that Barrett would be deciding the political fate of the president who nominated her only weeks ago, and President Trump's ill-timed calls for Barrett's swift confirmation so that she can be seated in time to decide the election cases. These bludgeoning pressures alone are at once singular and unprecedented, unsurpassed and quite possibly unsurpassable in their magnitude. By comparison, the pressures believed put on the West Virginia judge in *Caperton* pale.

But while *Caperton* would seem to apply to Barrett's decision with proverbial vengeance, only the Supreme Court knows whether this precedent applies so as to require her recusal from the 2020 presidential election cases. And only Barrett will know whether, in Scalia's words, even if *Caperton* may not require her recusal, it counsels that recusal.

The art of judging is to divine from extant law and, when necessary, to fashion a principled rule of law that is sufficiently broad to decide the case before the court but sufficiently narrow that the rule will not decide cases for which a different rule should apply. The art is practiced by many but accomplished by few. One would think that the Supreme Court surely must have perfected this art by now, but, truth be known, it often eludes even our highest court — as it did in *Caperton*.

Unfortunately, inartful Supreme Court decisions are no less the law of the land than artful ones. Now Barrett, the Supreme Court and the country may have to reap the consequences.

The writer served as a judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 4th Circuit from 1991 to 2006.

CATHERINE RAMPPELL

The poster children for fiscal failure

For months, Republicans have dragged their feet on additional stimulus. Even the "skinny" fiscal relief bills that Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) has begrudgingly scheduled votes on this coming week seem unlikely to pass, because Republicans apparently think the economy is recovering more or less fine on its own.

More stimulus might be nice, National Economic Council Director Larry Kudlow has said repeatedly, but the "self-sustaining, strong, V-shaped recovery" will continue either way.

In other words, if the business cycle is already self-correcting, what's the hurry? In fact, what's the *need*, given the price tag for proposed fiscal relief?

For one, this supposedly "strong, V-shaped recovery" shows worrying signs of stalling. New jobless claims rose last week; small-business activity has flat-lined; millions have fallen into poverty as federal aid has dried up. Massive state and local government layoffs, forestalled while officials held out hope for federal help, are likely to come soon. They will make things much worse.

Even if you ignore these warnings and assume that growth will continue apace, that pace isn't one Americans should settle for. The government's duty is to help the economy recover as fully as possible as quickly as possible. This is both to allay serious pain today and reduce scarring that could persist tomorrow.

We've already seen what happens when officials reject aggressive fiscal interventions when they're needed, or pivot prematurely to austerity. They did just that after the last recession. For living proof of the damage that comes from such stinginess, just look to the sorry state of my own generation.

We millennials have been unusually unlucky. We've experienced two once-in-a-lifetime recessions within the first decade of our careers, and we still haven't recovered from the first one.

Even before anyone knew the enduring consequences of the Great Recession, economists had ample evidence that graduating into a bad job market has long-term (perhaps lifetime) scarring effects on income and other measures of well-being. Recent research suggests such damage can even be fatal: Cohorts that graduated into the harsh labor markets of the early 1980s had higher mortality rates in middle age than did counterparts who graduated into better economies.

Another recent paper looked specifically at the Great Recession, the subsequent anemic recovery and the "Lost Generation" that resulted. This study, by University of California at Berkeley professor Jesse Rothstein, found that young college graduates who started their careers under exceptionally bad economic conditions had a permanently lower likelihood of employment later on. Those who ultimately did find work got stuck in lower-paying career tracks for years.

Other studies, including from the Census Bureau and the Federal Reserve Bank, have likewise found that millennials "are less well off than members of earlier generations when they were young, with lower earnings, fewer assets, and less wealth."

These scars are part of the reason why, even before the pandemic recession, younger adults were already behind on major life milestones.

Millennials are less likely to be married than earlier generations were at the same age, or to have children. And the stereotypes of basement-dwelling are true: We're more likely to still live with our parents.

There was a surge in young adults moving back home during and immediately after the Great Recession. The trend was expected to reverse eventually but never did. Since the pandemic began, it has supercharged: For the first time since at least the Great Depression, most young adults now live with their parents, according to the Pew Research Center.

To be sure, some young adults are bunking with Mom and Dad because they wanted to escape dense cities during a lockdown, or because their dorms closed. But many returned to the nest — or never left in the first place — because they lack the financial footing to rent (let alone buy) their own homes.

"In this place in my life, I wanted to live on my own," says Eric Rivera, a laid-off public relations worker who turned 30 while sheltering in place with his parents. "I wanted to have really nice furniture that's not from Ikea. I wanted to have kind of a senior role in my career. That kind of was just turned upside down."

Millennials' failure to launch is not due to any alleged predilection for avocado toast. It's the result of a sharp economic contraction, followed by the federal government's decision to withdraw fiscal support (including to states and cities) too soon, which let poor hiring conditions fester for longer than necessary.

In the years after the financial crisis, successive classes of unlucky students kept graduating into a stagnant job market. The same phenomenon threatens to repeat because, once again, Congress refuses to act aggressively on fiscal aid, and the young are residual claimants on such government failures. The Class of 2020, just like the Classes of 2008 to 2012 or so, has already fallen victim to a severe recession. Congress must do whatever it takes to prevent the Class of 2021 — and onward — from suffering the same fate.

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Judge strikes down plan to end food stamp benefits for 700,000 Americans

Trump administration failed to justify impact on states, ruling says

BY SPENCER S. HSU

A federal judge on Sunday formally struck down a Trump administration attempt to end food stamp benefits for nearly 700,000 unemployed people, blocking as “arbitrary and capricious” the first of three such planned measures to restrict the federal food safety net.

In a scathing 67-page opinion, Chief U.S. District Judge Beryl A. Howell of D.C. condemned the Agriculture Department for failing to justify or even address the impact of the sweeping change on states, saying its shortcomings had been placed in stark relief amid the coronavirus pandemic,

during which unemployment has quadrupled and rosters of the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program have grown by more than 17 percent, with more than 6 million new enrollees.

The rule “at issue in this litigation radically and abruptly alters decades of regulatory practice, leaving States scrambling and exponentially increasing food insecurity for tens of thousands of Americans,” Howell wrote, adding that the Agriculture Department “has been icily silent about how many [adults] would have been denied SNAP benefits had the changes sought . . . been in effect while the pandemic rapidly spread across the country.” The judge concluded that the department’s “utter failure to address the issue renders the agency action arbitrary and capricious.”

Howell’s ruling granted summary judgment to a coalition of 19 states, D.C., New York City and

private groups that sued to stop the new rule, finalized in December, to eliminate states’ discretion to waive work requirements in distressed economic areas.

Howell temporarily enjoined the proposal on March 13, the same day President Trump declared the coronavirus outbreak a national emergency. Congress then waived the requirement for the duration of the emergency as part of economic relief legislation, and the Trump administration suspended its planned April implementation date.

However, the Agriculture Department appealed the judge’s earlier order, and absent court intervention the rule would have taken full effect at the end of the state of emergency. Spokesmen for the department did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

In a statement, New York Attorney General Letitia James called

the decision “a win for common sense and basic human decency,” adding that the rule “would have not only made it harder for thousands to feed their families and risk them going hungry, but would have exacerbated the public health crisis we face and the economic recession we are still in the midst of under President Trump.”

Attorneys general from D.C., Maryland, Virginia, New York, California and numerous other states alleged that the change — to slash nearly \$5.5 billion from food stamp spending over five years — would require “drastic cuts” for adults without children, ignored local labor market conditions and was based on no evidence.

States are in the best position to evaluate local economic circumstances and the effectiveness of work requirements, they argued, warning against the elimination of “essential food assistance for benefits recipients who live in ar-

reas with insufficient jobs.”

Able-bodied adults without dependents, between the ages of 18 and 49, can receive benefits for a maximum of three months during a three-year period, unless they are working or enrolled in an education or training program for 80 hours a month.

States have been able to waive this time limit to ensure access to food stamps during the ups and downs of reentering the workforce. Before this rule, counties with an unemployment rate as low as 2.5 percent were included in waived areas.

The new rule would have tightened the criteria for states applying for such waivers, making 6 percent the minimum unemployment rate for a county to receive a waiver.

In announcing the change last year, U.S. Agriculture Secretary Sonny Perdue said it was “about restoring the original intent of

food stamps . . . moving more able-bodied Americans to self-sufficiency.”

Perdue cited the economic expansion as a basis for tightening states’ waivers. He said the number of Americans receiving benefits under SNAP has grown from 17 million to more than 36 million since 2000, although the unemployment rate was lower at the time.

Two other proposed rule changes, not yet final, aim to cap deductions for utility allowance and to limit access to SNAP for working poor families.

A study by the Urban Institute indicated the combined impact of these rules would cut 3.7 million people from SNAP in an average month. Benefits would be reduced for millions more, and 982,000 students would lose automatic access to free or reduced-price school meals.

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ISIS grows in Africa as U.S. mulls troop cuts

ISIS FROM A1

final phases of the U.S.-led military campaign to destroy the physical caliphate, the effort to contain the group and its violent ideology has faltered, according to current and former counterterrorism officials and independent analysts.

The rise in violence comes as the Trump administration moves to slash U.S. troop deployments and threatens to curtail support for local governments on the front lines of the battle against Islamist militants. The White House is considering steeper cutbacks in U.S. military forces in Africa, despite warnings from some analysts that the reductions could further hamper efforts to check the extremists’ advance.

“ISIS is not dead,” said Robert Richer, the CIA’s deputy director of operations during the George W. Bush administration, using a common acronym for the Islamic State. “We destroyed the caliphate, but they’re now popping up in numerous places. Meanwhile, the worldwide coalition to fight ISIS doesn’t really exist anymore.”

Trump has championed his counterterrorism successes at nearly every campaign event, often referring to the Islamic State in the past tense. “We obliterated 100 percent of the ISIS caliphate,” he said in his acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention in August.

But other officials say the threat has merely shifted to new regions and different forms. In the 18 months since the fall of the Islamic State’s last Syrian stronghold, the group’s African affiliates have seen dramatic gains in territory and recruits, as well as in firepower, according to a study published in August in CTC Sentinel, a journal published by the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point.

“Instead of an asymmetric, opportunistic insurgency, it’s large numbers of fighters, attacking large numbers of soldiers using weapons that are of a similar or greater caliber,” said Charlie Winter, a senior research fellow at the International Center for the Study of Radicalization at King’s College London, and a co-author of the study. “And they have shown a decent ability to maneuver.”

“The godfather of jihad”

As a presidential candidate in 2016, Trump promised a speedy and resounding defeat of the Islamic State. In rallies and interviews, he vowed to “carpet-bomb” parts of Iraq and Syria held by the militants.

After his election, however, his White House advisers adopted, with minor adjustments, the strategy that had been in place by the Obama administration in 2014. Backed by a coalition of more than 80 countries, the United States provided air power and intelligence support for Iraqi troops and Kurdish and Syrian Arab fighters who liberated terrorist-held towns one by one. About half of the caliphate’s land holdings — including parts of Mosul, the Islamic State’s eastern capital — had been freed by the time Trump took office in 2017.

Trump’s prosecution of the war drew praise from many counterterrorism experts, as did the administration’s effort to



Niger security forces patrol in a wildlife park on Aug. 21. Eight people, including six French humanitarian workers, were killed in an attack at the park on Aug. 9.

find and kill the Islamic State’s leader, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, who blew himself up when cornered by U.S. Special Operations forces in October 2019. The aggressive hunt for the leader also marked a continuation of tactics in place since the latter years of the Bush administration.

“The biggest success story for us in the last dozen years is the way we created a leadership crisis in the global jihadist movement, by effectively taking out every senior leader,” said Bruce Riedel, a former CIA official and senior adviser to four U.S. presidents. “We’ve become very good at what the counterterrorism world calls ‘decapitation.’”

But even as U.S. and allied forces tightened the noose on Baghdadi’s followers in Iraq and Syria, other White House policies undermined the effort to defeat violent Islamist militant ideology globally, according to Riedel and other counterterrorism experts. Trump surprised his own security advisers by twice announcing — and then reversing — a decision to unilaterally withdraw U.S. forces from Syria, signaling an abandonment of U.S.-allied Kurdish fighters who were still battling thousands of Islamic State militants who fled as the caliphate was crumbling.

Meanwhile, Trump’s anti-Islam rhetoric and ban on Muslim immigrants handed the militants a propaganda win, reinforcing a “fundamental al-Qaeda message, which is that America is against Islam,” Riedel said.

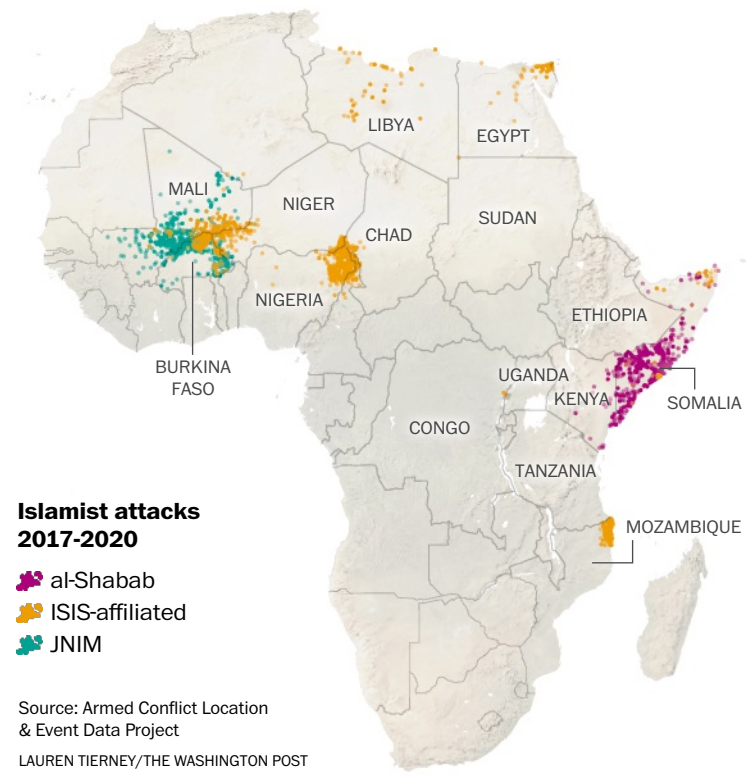
“That’s going to come back to haunt us,” Riedel said. “We may have made it very difficult for them to operate, but their message is still very, very strong, and we’re not doing much to fight that message.”

Even before Baghdadi’s death, the Islamic State was beginning to adapt to changing circumstances. Under the former leader, the group’s core followers in Iraq and Syria had begun to transition from a landholding terrorist enclave to an underground insurgency. In his final video message, Baghdadi also symbolically passed the torch to the group’s “wilayats,” or regional affiliates, signaling that these would now take on a more prominent role as leaders of the global movement.

But even Baghdadi might have been surprised by the strength displayed by the group’s African



A member of the Syrian Democratic Forces in Syria in 2019. Iraq and Syria have seen a steady increase in violence recently, driven by Islamic State fighters who regrouped after the caliphate’s defeat.



offspring in the year after his death.

Most striking is the growth of Islamist groups in West Africa, home to two Islamic State affiliates and an al-Qaeda branch, operating and frequently competing across Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso.

While Islamist militants have been active in the region for years, the problem worsened dramatically over the past two years. Violence in the region

killed 4,825 people in 2019 — the highest in at least a decade, according to the Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project, a nonprofit that compiles reports on such incidents around the world. By October, this year’s casualty count had climbed to 5,365, already assuring that 2020 will be far deadlier. State security forces who kill civilians in the hunt for extremists have exacerbated the bloodshed, human rights groups say.

Equally alarming, militants are staging attacks closer to big cities and edging into coastal states. In June, fighters with Jama’a Nusrat ul-Islam wa al-Muslimin — the al-Qaeda affiliate known as JNIM — struck an army outpost on Ivory Coast’s northern frontier, killing 14 soldiers in the first major attack in the country in four years.

Meanwhile, two different Islamic State affiliates — the Islamic State in West Africa and Islamic State in the Greater Sahara — have collectively killed hundreds of government soldiers while claiming de facto control over remote areas of Niger and Nigeria’s northeastern state of Borno.

Extremists have even turned national parks into battle zones. In addition to the attack on the giraffe park in Niger, militants have rampaged through wildlife preserves in Burkina Faso, forcing rangers to abandon their posts. The violence has forced more than 600,000 people to flee their homes and destroyed or shuttered 3,600 schools, according to U.N. data.

Earlier this year, Islamic State and al-Qaeda groups in West Africa had shown signs of cooperating, or at least deconflicting, as their followers seek to carve up territory. The apparent detente has faded in recent months, as the groups increasingly regard one another as rivals, analysts say.

“ISIS and al-Qaeda in the region are fighting over the question, ‘Who can be the godfather of jihad in West Africa?’” said a North African counterterrorism official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because he was not authorized to speak publicly.

On Africa’s southeastern coast, the rise of an Islamic State-linked insurgency has been equally dramatic. A group calling itself the Islamic State Central African Province has claimed responsibility for dozens of raids on towns and villages in northern Mozambique, including resort islands that are favorite haunts for international celebrities.

U.S. officials say the attack on Mocimboa da Praia in August involved a sophisticated, multi-pronged military assault by well-armed Islamists who outgunned and outmaneuvered the local

government garrison, which abandoned the town and, six weeks later, had not yet returned.

The extremists have been able to exploit weaknesses in local governments that are ill-equipped to fight insurgencies that are well armed and geographically dispersed. Traditionally, the United States has provided support for African counterterrorism units, including military advisers and Special Operations forces.

In November, the U.S. military began flying Reaper drones out of an air base in the desert region of Agadez in Niger. Hundreds of American soldiers work at the 17-acre facility, which took four years to build and cost roughly \$110 million. The troops, alongside local partners, focus largely on surveillance and intelligence missions.

“We are working with our African and international partners to counter security threats in West Africa,” said Army Gen. Stephen Townsend, AFRICOM commander, when the base opened. “The construction of this base demonstrates our investment in our African partners and mutual security interests in the region.”

Yet Pentagon officials acknowledge they are now considering plans to pull out of West Africa, pending the results of an overseas posture review ordered by Defense Secretary Mark T. Esper.

West African leaders and European allies have urged the United States to stay, saying the intelligence and training that American soldiers provide is crucial to the fight against extremism. A drawdown would deal a “significant” blow to the effort, said a French military officer focused on the Sahel, who spoke on the condition of anonymity because he was not authorized to discuss the matter publicly.

In addition to weakening the fight against Islamists, the officer said, a pullout would mean the United States “will lose influence in Africa” at a time when China and Russia are rushing in fill the gap.

“Disengaging when all of West Africa is worried,” he said, “will be perceived as disinterest.”

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8 a.m.
54°

Noon
65°

4 p.m.
70°

8 p.m.
64°

High today at approx. 3 p.m.
70°

Precip: 10%

Wind: S 6-12 mph

JOHN KELLY'S WASHINGTON
A Maryland woman's website offers owners a way to get to know their rescue pet's backstory. **B3**



MARYLAND
All eight congressional incumbents are running for reelection. Here's a rundown of each race. **B4**



OBITUARIES
Bess Abell, 87, was White House social secretary during the Johnson administration. **B7**

Pinto faces energized competitors in D.C.'s Ward 2 race

BY JULIE ZAUZMER AND FENIT NIRAPPIL
After a crowded primary, D.C. Council member Brooke Pinto (D-Ward 2) should be facing only token opposition in the general election, given that Democrats outnumber other voters in her part of the city by a margin of 2 to 1.
But many longtime activists in

NEWCOMER JOINED COUNCIL 4 MONTHS AGO Prominent groups endorse independent candidate

the ward are dissatisfied with Pinto, a 28-year-old political newcomer. Some are looking to the November election as a do-over.
Prominent groups, including

year-old Sierra Club employee and advisory neighborhood commissioner.
Downs, who is openly gay, also has strong support from the city's politically active LGBTQ community at a time when there are no openly gay members of the council.
Left-leaning activist Martín Miguel Fernandez and Statehood Green Party candidate Peter Bol-

ton are also running for the seat. They and Downs say that Pinto, who joined the council in June after winning a special election to finish the term of scandal-tainted ex-member Jack Evans (D), is not qualified to remain in office.
"From everything I heard, folks are not happy, and they are having buyer's remorse with Brooke. And so I'm glad we are able to give them a choice," said

Downs, who argues that he is more in touch with the needs of the ward than Pinto, a Connecticut native who attended Georgetown Law School and worked for Attorney General Karl A. Racine (D) but never cast a vote in the District before running for office.
Pinto says she is already proving herself, trying to address the requests of residents struggling
SEE COUNCIL ON B5



PHOTOS BY RICKY CARIOTI/THE WASHINGTON POST

Finally back in family's hands

Almost 90 years after the Nazis forced the sale of his grandparents' possessions, one is returned to him

BY SYDNEY PAGE

On a recent afternoon, a seemingly unremarkable brown parcel appeared on the front porch of Martin Goldsmith's home in Kensington.
Goldsmith, 68, swiftly pried open the package. With careful hands, he uncovered a 16th-century kettle that belonged to Goldsmith's grandparents before they died in the Holocaust.
He examined the double-spouted cauldron — composed of brass, bronze and iron — with awe. It had quite a path before it landed on his doorstep.
Goldsmith is well-versed in his family's tragic history, having



Martin Goldsmith, top, of Kensington holds the 16th-century kettle that arrived from Germany this month. The kettle, above, which ended up with a museum researcher who reunites pieces with the descendants of the rightful owners, was originally sold at a fraction of its value.

written two books on the subject. But unlike the anecdotes he has strung together over the years, the kettle represents something different to him: a rare, tactile treasure linking him to his paternal grandparents — whom he never met.
Holding the kettle for the first time, Goldsmith was moved to tears.
"There are very few things in the known universe that my grandparents touched," Goldsmith said. "It was a semi-miraculous opportunity to touch something they had touched, to hold something they had held."
In early April, Goldsmith was
SEE KETTLE ON B3

Schools candidates weigh in on reopening

3 education board seats are on Nov. 3 ballot in Montgomery County

BY DONNA ST. GEORGE

Candidates in school board races in Maryland are grappling with questions faced by school systems nationally about when and whether to open schools amid the pandemic and if online learning is sufficient.
In suburban Montgomery County, three seats are contested on an eight-member school board that makes policy decisions for Maryland's largest school system, which has more than 161,000 students and 24,000 employees.
Like many other school systems, Montgomery has been upended as never before by the fallout of the health crisis. Students are logging in from home for virtual learning. There are no buses to school every day, no sitting in classrooms for in-person instruction.
Seven weeks into the school year, it is unclear when that will change. State officials have pushed Maryland school systems to consider bringing at least some students back on campus. But Montgomery has not set a date.
SEE MONTGOMERY ON B4

New cases in region

Through 5 p.m. Sunday, 1,466 new coronavirus cases were reported in the District, Maryland and Virginia, bringing the total number of cases to 318,165.

D.C.	MD.	VA.
+36	+530	+900
16,370	135,657	166,138

Coronavirus-related deaths

As of 5 p.m. Sunday:

D.C.	MD.*	VA.
+0	+1	+11
641	4,037	3,433

* Includes probable covid-19 deaths

A \$50 commute? Study shows costly I-270 tolls.

BY KATHERINE SHAVER

Motorists traveling from Frederick to Rockville during the peak morning commute could end up paying \$2.26 per mile — or nearly \$50 total — to use the toll lanes being planned for Interstate 270, according to regional traffic models.
Morning commuters who use the Capital Beltway's planned toll lanes to reach Northern Virginia could end up paying \$1.66 per mile — or about \$25 total — from Interstate 95 to the American Legion Bridge, according to an analysis by the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments (COG).
Maryland highway officials are studying the potential ef-

fects of widening I-270 and the state's portion of the Beltway to add up to two new toll lanes in each direction. The state has begun to solicit companies for public-private partnerships to build the estimated \$10 billion worth of toll lanes, replace the American Legion Bridge with a wider one and rebuild the general lanes, which would remain free.
According to the COG models, the highest tolls would occur on segments of the highways with the worst congestion. That's because the lanes would use dynamic tolling, with rates fluctuating based on congestion to keep traffic moving at a minimum of 45 mph. As the toll
SEE TOLLS ON B5

JAMES A. JOHNSON, 76

Transformed Fannie Mae into a political force

BY HARRISON SMITH

James A. Johnson, a former Democratic campaign operative who led Fannie Mae in the 1990s and transformed the mortgage giant into a political powerhouse, ushering in an era of striking profitability and opulence that the 2008 financial crisis ended by forcing a federal takeover and bailout, died Oct. 18 at his home in Washington. He was 76.
The cause was complications from a neurological condition, said his son, Alfred.
A low-key Washington insider — "I would discreetly characterize myself as discreet," he once said — Mr. Johnson was averse to publicity. But for years, he played an outsize role in the city's business, political and cultural life,



FRANK JOHNSTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

James A. Johnson, former Fannie Mae CEO, was so influential in Washington that he was called "the chairman of the universe."

simultaneously chairing the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, the Brookings Institution think tank and Fannie Mae, which helps fuel the housing industry by buying home loans and packaging them into securities.
His reach extended so far that Harold M. Ickes, President Bill Clinton's deputy chief of staff, once joked that Mr. Johnson was "the chairman of the universe." While serving as chairman and chief executive of Fannie Mae, politicians on both sides of the aisle praised his stewardship of the institution and efforts to promote homeownership, which Mr. Johnson considered a vehicle for social improvement.
Mr. Johnson, whose father was
SEE JOHNSON ON B6

EDUCATION

For college applicants, finding fresh ways to bring up a universally terrible year



Jay Mathews

I applied to college in 1962. It was a good year in America — no pandemic, no lockdowns, no recession. During the Cuban missile crisis in October, I dived under my desk in an air-raid drill. But that scare passed quickly.

This year is different. No event in this century has overturned the lives of as many people as the arrival of the novel coronavirus. For those applying to college, it raises a tricky issue: Should you write about it in your application essays?

I agree you have more important things to worry about these days. But applying to college is an awkward rite of passage. It unnerves many students, and their parents. I

have been writing about college admissions for 40 years. The nuances of getting into where you want to go have never been more elusive and frustrating.

You have been told the essays give you a chance to stand out. They are also designed to reveal how well you fit in. If you obsess over how much the pandemic has messed up your life, you are likely to seem panicky and emotional. Who wants to admit someone like that? It won't go over well in the dorm.

You have picked the colleges on your list because they fit your tastes and ambitions. You are the best judge of how to handle the should-I-mention-the-pandemic issue. Be careful of what your parents say. Mothers and fathers about to send their children into the world can be panicky and emotional, too. Your friends also may not have the best advice.

If you don't want to devote precious essay space to 2020's world-shaking events, that's fine. Admission officers who have to read hundreds of these compositions are likely to bless you for not telling them stuff they already know. A passing mention in a humorous vein, such as "closing school meant I avoided the trauma of junior prom," might work. The idea is to reveal things about yourself that will impress readers and help them like you. Your darkest thoughts aren't going to do that. They already know what kind of student you are from the rest of your application.

Casey Near, the executive director of counseling at the college counseling company Collegewise, suggested to me that before writing about covid-19, an applicant should consider this: "Is what you've realized,

what you've lived, or what you've done unique to you, or something the kids within your neighboring Zip codes are also experiencing?"

The application might ask you to describe an important moment in your life or a personal characteristic that reveals who you are. You could discuss how you handled spending 24 hours a day in the same house with your parents. But you might be happier, and make a better impression, if you tried something lighter. I know a student who got into her first choice of college by discussing her ability to identify almost any popular song by the first three or four notes. If you have a favorite pastime you are bad at, like golf or needlepoint, that would also be fun to read about.

You would be wise to add one feature to your essays that college applicants rarely consider: self-deprecation. Making fun of yourself tells the reader you are the kind of person who would be a delight to sit with during dinner, join at parties or have in class.

Instead of writing about how you led your school baseball league in home runs, why not focus on the fact that you also pitched and set a record for hitting batters? It is fine to say you worked every weekend doing the dishes at a homeless shelter, but the admission officer would be more likely to love your application if you also confessed you ate all the untouched desserts before washing those plates.

I should add a word of support for parents, since I am one. If mom or dad make a specific suggestion about your essay, sleep on it overnight before

rejecting it. In my life as a writer, a critical reader who sees something that doesn't work is usually right.

There are fresh ways to write about the worst year ever. Perhaps it gave you a chance to have long talks with your mother about how much she hated growing up in poverty but later realized that the frugality ingrained in her was a gift. Maybe the political sniping you saw so much on cable news led you to want to study how democracies, particularly ours, can find ways to unite when times are bad.

You have had a tough year. So have most people. If you show your admission office readers a bit of wit and modesty, they are likely to remember fondly what you wrote, even if you never mention covid-19.

jay.mathews@washpost.com

Two N.Y. middle schools test out combined math classes

Racial divide, high school readiness concerns prompt Ithaca's effort

BY STEVEN YODER

ITHACA, N.Y. — On a frigid Thursday in February, math teacher Marietta Gibb was warming up her sixth-graders at DeWitt Middle School with some algebraic expressions. She showed the students a video to review the math, and then sent them scattering to different tables to practice the exercises they had found challenging.

"We don't want anything too easy, because if you go to the gym and you pick up two pounds, what purpose is that?" Gibb said as she encouraged her students to select math problems at their individual levels. "[And] we don't want to pick up the weight that's way too much for us, because we'll end up hurting ourselves."

At a table in back, two girls matched bright blue cutouts of unsolved equations with their solved counterparts. Two boys worked on riddles that tested them on combining like terms. A student practiced distributing negative numbers on a whiteboard.

This is the look of the Ithaca City School District's new effort to limit tracking — or separating students by perceived ability — in middle school math. Instead of sixth- and seventh-graders being divided into lower and accelerated levels, the students take classes of equal rigor but sometimes work in small groups, split up to practice specific skills, or pair up with another student who can guide them through a problem.

The district began rolling out the program two years ago after recognizing that students of color made up a disproportionate share of pupils in lower-level math classes. Just 22 percent of students in the district are Black, Latino or multiracial, but in some lower-level math classes, children of color were overrepresented, according to teachers and administrators. Ithaca is hardly unique: Nationally, Black and Latino students are significantly less likely than White and Asian students to take accelerated math in middle school.

But the racial divide wasn't Ithaca's only concern. Students in accelerated math were struggling when they entered high school, having failed to pick up the skills they needed. Tracking didn't seem to benefit anyone, so Ithaca became one of at least three school districts around the country to limit or abandon the approach.

Math is the most-tracked subject in school: Three-quarters of eighth-graders attend math classes that are segregated by ability, according to the latest federal data. The pervasiveness of math tracking may be due, in part, to the persistent belief that some people are good at math and others aren't, education experts suggest. Now some experts are encouraging school districts to step away from the practice. In



PHOTOS BY STEVEN YODER/THE HECHINGER REPORT

a report published in May, the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics recommended districts eliminate tracking in middle school math.

The group points to slumping test scores as a reason change is needed: Eighth-grade math scores on the National Assessment of Educational Progress have been flat for a decade, with just 34 percent of students testing proficient in 2019.

Still, researchers aren't united on the benefits of eliminating tracking. In Ithaca, district leaders said it would be years before there was data to evaluate the success of the new approach. In the meantime, school administrators face a more immediate challenge, one that probably awaits other districts that attempt detracking: parent opposition. When Ithaca moved to reduce advanced math classes, parents voiced concern that students wouldn't be challenged academically and would miss out on a chance to take algebra in eighth grade, which is often viewed as a steppingstone to high school calculus and a college STEM degree. Two years into the effort, school administrators are still contending with a backlash against detracking in this highly educated, politically liberal city.

The changes to the math curriculum have their roots in Susan Danskin's classroom. Danskin leads the math department at DeWitt, one of Ithaca's two middle schools, which for years had separated eighth-graders into three different math levels. In her lowest-tier class in fall 2017, seven of the 10 students were Black, Hispanic or multiracial, compared with 25 percent of the school. Another DeWitt math teacher reported similar num-



TOP: Sixth-graders work together at DeWitt Middle School in Ithaca, N.Y., where math classes have been restructured to limit tracking, or separating by perceived skill level. **ABOVE:** Middle-schoolers work together at Ithaca's Boynton Middle School. Students often team up to work through problems.

bers. "We said, 'We are just perpetuating institutional racism here,'" Danskin recalled.

The teachers worried the process for tracking children was overly subjective. Students were placed in regular or accelerated math at the end of fifth grade based on teacher recommendations. But teachers complained of sometimes feeling pressured by parents to recommend their children for accelerated math.

Over at Ithaca High School, Steven Weissburg, the math department leader, was also troubled. He once loved teaching ninth-grade geometry, a class for students who had completed accelerated eighth-grade math. But

in recent years, he had come to dread it because the students had sped through content in middle school and had weak skills.

Weissburg and Danskin and other middle school math department leaders met with district officials and proposed detracking eighth-grade math. Superintendent Luvelle Brown needed no convincing. He and his leadership team felt the research about the benefits of detracking was clear. "But until we had the teacher connection and the ability to do that, we would have no chance," he said.

In spring 2018, the district approved a pilot at DeWitt to

collapse math for eighth-graders from three tracks to two: algebra and eighth-grade math. Teachers developed strategies to offer "differentiated" learning, like those practiced in Gibb's class, to students of different proficiency levels enrolled in the same course.

The district liked what it saw and decided to take the changes a few steps further. In fall 2019, Boynton, the district's other middle school, adopted DeWitt's two tiers for eighth-grade math. Meanwhile, sixth- and seventh-grade math collapsed from two tracks to one. To support the changes, the district hired teachers to give students more individual attention and help them

work more easily in small groups.

But almost immediately, parent opposition sprouted. At district meetings on the detracking effort, parents swamped administrators with questions. How would students be picked for eighth-grade algebra? What research had informed the move? How would children who excelled at math learn alongside students who were struggling?

Even parents who felt inclined to support the changes said the district wasn't prepared to answer their questions. Tara Holm, a professor in Cornell's math department who has a fifth-grader and a second-grader in the school system, said her understanding is that detracking "really is better for many kids." But she wasn't satisfied with the district's explanations and how it had communicated the changes to parents. "It seemed like a very half-baked plan," Holm recalled.

Parents started to organize. Deirdre Hay, a parent of two children in the district, drew up a petition asking the district reverse the decision. About 300 people signed. While the school board was united behind detracking, a parent named Erin Croyle jumped into the school board race as a write-in two weeks before the May 2019 election and defeated a longtime member after gaining the backing of detracking opponents.

Still, most parents are taking a wait-and-see approach. The resistance to the curriculum change "feels premature," said Marianella Casasola, a senior associate dean at Cornell with two children in the district. She said she liked the idea of having students at different skill levels in the same classroom. But Casasola said, "It's not clear how this is going to play out."

Academic research tends to support detracking, but is not unequivocal. In a 2016 report, for example, education researcher Tom Loveless found that states that sort more children by ability in eighth-grade math wind up with more students scoring high on Advanced Placement exams in high school.

In Ithaca, Lily Talcott, the district's deputy superintendent, said it would take years for the district to know for sure the impact of detracking. But she said the district would find ways to measure student performance and assess students' views on the changes along the way.

Teachers, meanwhile, said they were satisfied with how the district has pursued detracking. Gibb, the DeWitt math teacher, said some parents told their children they would be bored in the combined math classes. But now, "I don't hear kids saying they're bored," Gibb said. "I don't see it. I'd never go back to the previous system. I think this is so much better for all the levels of kids."

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This story about middle school math was produced by the Hechinger Report, a nonprofit, independent news organization focused on inequality and innovation in education.



Subscriber Exclusives

The Washington Post

What Day Is It? A Newsletter to Help You Remember — and Recover

The pandemic has wrecked our sense of time. Learn how to recover it, fill your days with new experiences and stay connected to the world around you with a free 7-day e-mail course. Sign up at any time and receive Day 1 the following Monday. You'll get a newsletter every day through Sunday. Share the series with family and friends. The newsletter is brought to you by Steven Johnson, an audience editor at The Washington Post who, like most of us, is working his way out of "Blursday."

Register at [washingtonpost.com/newsletters](https://www.washingtonpost.com/newsletters).



Shedding light on the path of rescue pets is this website’s mission



John Kelly’s Washington

pulls at his leash to get a closer look.

I can’t help but wonder: Did Archie’s previous owner drive a white van? Does Archie think living with us is just temporary and a white van means it’s time for him to go back home?

Does Archie think about his old humans — and do those humans think about Archie?

Those are the sorts of questions **Connie Bekavac** hopes to answer with her website, Pet Parents’ Place (petparentsplace.com). It’s a place where people who gave up their dogs, cats or other pets can connect with the people who have them now, and vice versa.

Connie, a retired Energy Department employee who lives in Edgewater, Md., has had various rescue dogs over the years. A previous dog — a little pooch Connie named **Beemer** — was adopted when he was 2 years old. That was an odd age for a rescue, Connie thought. In her experience, they tend to be either puppies or much older.

Later, Connie learned that when Beemer’s original owner had moved to a nursing home,

no family member could take the dog, so he was left at an animal shelter. Connie figured the owner might have welcomed the news that Beemer had found a loving home.

Pet Parents’ Place allows people to enter information on an animal they have or one they gave up: breed, color, age, chip ID number, distinguishing marks, etc. They can upload a photo. They also provide their first name and email address. If a match is made, the two parties can email one another.

As the free website explains: “Help bring peace of mind to those pet parents that wonder what happened to their beloved pet. Find out that your past pet or a foster pet now has a loving home.”

Connie figures some people want to know what happened to their pet.

“Even though you couldn’t take care of them anymore, you’d be happy you’d given them a good start,” she said. “The other side of that is people can also find if there are any behavioral or medical issues about the dog. It’s two-sided. It’s kind of like an open adoption, if you will, for pets.”

Connie said about 1,000 people have entered information on the Pet Parents’ Place website. A majority are owners who had to give up a pet, she said. There had been no easy way to tell whether a match was made, but Connie just tweaked



BLAISE BEKAVAC

Connie Bekavac, a retired Energy Department employee and the founder of Pet Parents’ Place, with her two dogs, Shiloh and Max.

the website so she’ll get a copy when animal owners connect by email.

“Right now, with covid, a lot of people are home and adopting a lot of dogs,” she said. “On the other side, people are losing their jobs and can’t afford to keep their pets. There’s a lot of action going on with rescues.”

That’s apparently the case with our Archie. The rescue group that organized his adoption said Archie came from a rural area in North Carolina. He was owned by a family that could not afford to feed or care for him. He came to us underweight and positive for heartworm, a condition that is common in the South.

I don’t think Archie was mistreated — he doesn’t duck or

shrink away when I raise my hand to pet him — but some rescue dogs surely are. One Labrador retriever we met had spent five years chained to a tree in a front yard.

Said Connie: “I’ll be the first to admit that if they adopted an abused dog, they don’t want to get into contact with the original owner. That’s perfectly understood.”

And Connie said her website requests only the users’ first names and email addresses to “cut down on any concerns that somebody would come and repossess the pet or anything else.”

Gina Hardter of the Animal Welfare League of Alexandria said most shelters and rescue groups try to provide

information, if they have it, to adopters: health, behavior, favorite food. AWLA also makes free dog and cat food available for owners who have trouble affording it.

They don’t share contact information but will pass on assurances to previous owners when an animal has been adopted.

“We know it provides peace of mind,” she said.

New owners of rescues conjure up all kinds of stories about their dogs. Gina and her husband did it with their second dog, **Charlie**, a pit bull/mastiff/hound mix who knew how to sit and was good on a leash but was painfully shy.

“I had an idea that he probably lived with somebody older — maybe someone who had passed away — and didn’t know what to do without them,” Gina said.

Then Gina met the person in charge of the West Virginia rescue group that had shuttled Charlie to Alexandria, who said that Charlie came from a farm, had lived outside his entire life and ran with a pack of other dogs.

Said Gina: “It was the exact opposite of what we thought. It didn’t affect how much we love him.”

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For previous columns, visit [washingtonpost.com/john-kelly](https://www.washingtonpost.com/john-kelly).

MARYLAND

Police: Man hit by car, killed in Pr. George’s

A man was hit by a car and killed Sunday night in Prince George’s County, the police said.

He was struck around 7:20 p.m. in the 11500 block of Old Fort Road, according to the police.

They said he was hit by an SUV in the southbound lanes. The site is between Aragona Boulevard and Gallahan Road in the Fort Washington area. The man’s name was not available.

— Martin Weil

Man is killed on parkway in Greenbelt

A motorist was killed on the Baltimore-Washington Parkway in Greenbelt on Sunday morning while trying to put gasoline into his vehicle, U.S. Park Police said.

The vehicle had run out of gas and the man was struck a few minutes after 3 a.m. while on the right shoulder trying to fill it, the Park Police said. The man was not named immediately.

The incident occurred in the southbound lanes of the parkway, south of the Capital Beltway, said Sgt. Roselyn Norment, a Park Police spokeswoman.

— Martin Weil

Car crash kills woman in White Oak area

A woman was killed in a car crash in the White Oak area of Montgomery County early Sunday, police said.

Authorities said police were called to Columbia Pike and Industrial Parkway shortly after 1 a.m. They determined a 2010 Toyota Corolla was making a left turn onto southbound Columbia Pike from Industrial Parkway when it collided with a 2018 Honda Accord that was traveling north on Columbia Pike. The driver of the Toyota, the car’s only occupant, was pronounced dead at the scene. Her identity has not been released.

The driver of the Honda, Marvin De Jesus Salinas Rodas, 31, of Silver Spring, and his passenger, Martin Gutierrez Cruz, 21, of Mount Rainier, were taken to a hospital with serious injuries, police said. Anyone with details is asked to call 240-773-6620.

— Rachel Chason

VIRGINIA

Sheriff: Body may be that of missing woman

A body was found Sunday in a reservoir in Loudoun County, and it was thought to be that of a woman who went missing while paddle boarding, the county sheriff’s office said.

The missing woman was a 38-year-old Fairfax County resident who did not return to shore after paddle boarding alone in the Beaverdam Reservoir on Thursday, officials said. The reservoir is in the Ashburn area.

The woman’s name was not released. A search was conducted because she was reported missing, the sheriff’s office said.

— Martin Weil

With return of Jewish family’s kettle, a tangible piece of legacy

KETTLE FROM B1

unexpectedly contacted by an art historian from a museum in Oldenburg — the city in northwest Germany where his grandparents once lived and where his father was born.

The message came from Marcus Kenzler — a researcher and cultural scientist who traces the origins of Nazi-looted property at the State Museum for Art and Cultural History, with the aim of returning the objects to the descendants of the original owners.

“Like every human being, every object has its own individual biography,” said Kenzler, 48. He studies decades-old records to determine an object’s exact origins, searching for traces left by previous owners in an effort to reconstruct the precise path a relic once took.

According to the museum’s inventory book, the kettle in question was sold by the Goldschmidt family in November 1934. Notably, “intensive research has shown that the sale of the kettle did not take place voluntarily but had a Nazi-persecution-related background,” Kenzler added.

The Nazi involvement in the acquisition was made clear by the glaringly low sales price of the kettle: 20 Reichsmark, or approximately \$11. In 1942, another museum acquired a similar object for 300 Reichsmark. Today, the kettle is valued at roughly \$2,500.

This wasn’t an uncommon occurrence. More than 20 percent of art in Europe, collectively worth billions of dollars, was looted or coerced into a sale by the Nazis. It’s estimated that 100,000 pieces of the more than 600,000 stolen artifacts are still missing. The burden of restitution typically rests on descendants, who must prove their relation to the original owner.

In an email to Goldsmith, Kenzler outlined his findings.

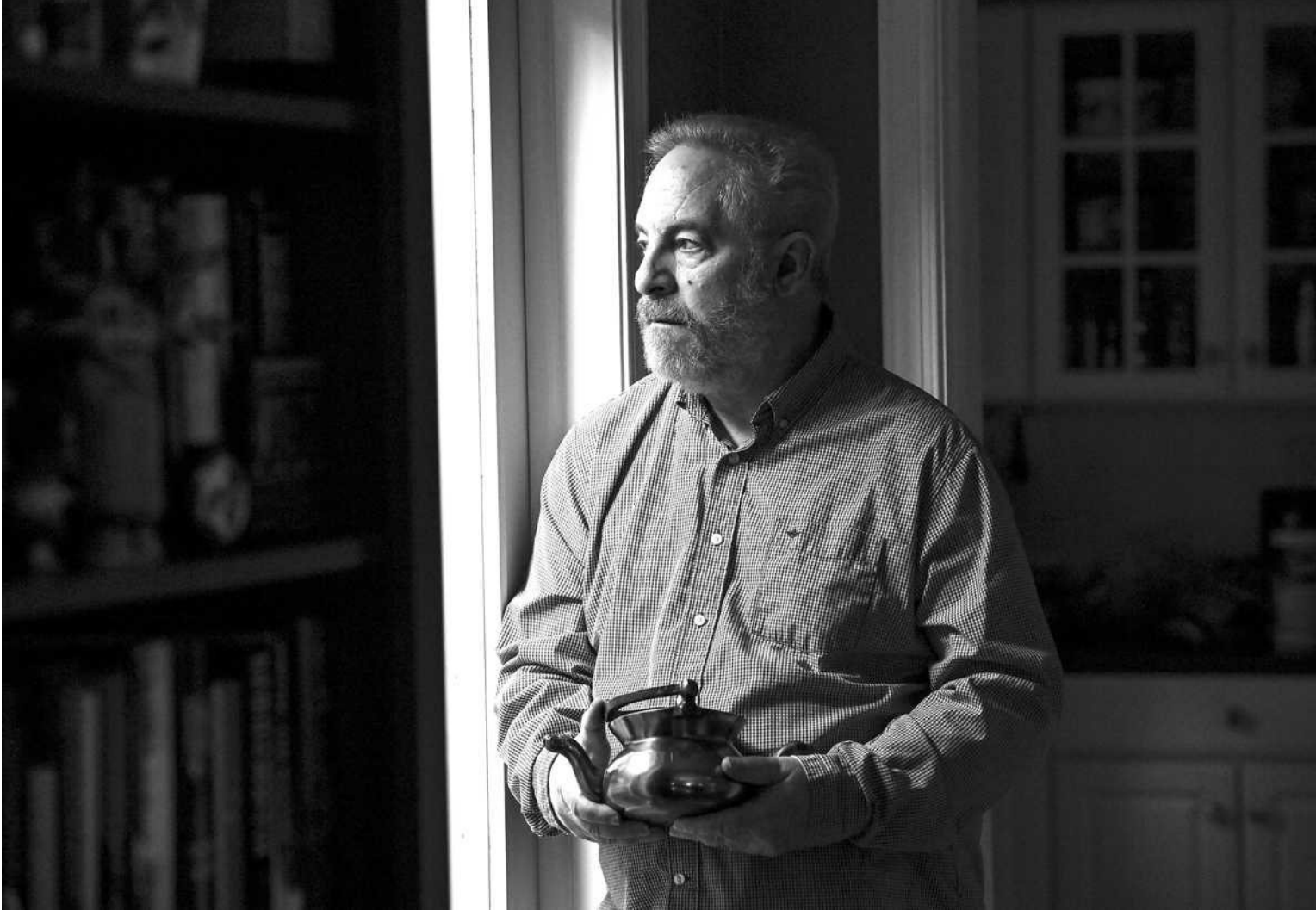
“Fortunately, the history of your family can be reconstructed very well through your books, and I was able to find numerous other sources,” he wrote.

Kenzler suggested that once his research was complete, the kettle — or Lavabokessel, the German term for the pouring vessel — should belong to Goldsmith, the last living relative of Alex and Toni Goldschmidt. Goldsmith has no children, and his parents, as well as his only brother, have all died.

“I was very excited when I contacted Martin for the first time,” said Kenzler, adding that since beginning his research in 2011, he has returned only three other artifacts to the families of the original owners — two antique pieces of tin-glazed pottery and a large Renaissance cabinet. “It happens far too rarely that the provenance of a work of art or an object can be completely deciphered.”

“I still have a lot of cases to solve,” he continued. “This work is important, and we have the historical obligation to come to terms with the injustices and horrors of the past.”

In response to Kenzler’s email, Goldsmith wrote, “Though born decades after the Nazi era, you have not shirked from the responsibility of facing up to the horrors



RICKY CARIOTI/THE WASHINGTON POST

Martin Goldsmith holds the kettle that belonged to his grandparents, who lived with their four children in Oldenburg, Germany, until the Nazis forced them to sell their belongings and property before eventually killing most of the family. His father escaped to the United States.

of those years but rather have done what you can to try to balance the scales of justice, impossible though that task may ultimately be.”

The kettle finally arrived in Maryland on Oct. 11, nearly 86 years after it had left the family’s hands.

Before World War II, Goldsmith’s grandfather, Alex Goldschmidt, operated a successful women’s clothing store, called Haus der Mode, in Oldenburg. The family of six lived in a grand home, adorned with sculptures, paintings and other artistic objects that reflected their good fortune.

Everything changed in November 1932, when Nazi officials informed the Goldschmidts that they had no choice but to sell their home — since a Jew was no longer permitted to own such a fine dwelling. It was sold for a mere fraction of its true value.

“The house is worth easily \$6 million today, and it was sold for just over \$10,000,” Goldsmith said. “They were forced to move into smaller and smaller quarters.”

In the years that followed, more laws and restrictions against Jews were enacted, leading up to the November Pogrom in 1938 — also known as Kristallnacht, or the Night of Broken Glass — in which thousands of Jewish-owned shops and synagogues were destroyed throughout Nazi Germany, and 30,000 Jewish men were arrested, including Goldsmith’s grandfather, Alex Goldschmidt.

The following year, Alex Goldschmidt and his son Helmut fled Germany on the S.S. St. Louis, a ship filled mostly with Jewish

refugees that sailed to Cuba, but was turned away. After unsuccessfully appealing to the United States and Canada, the ship and its passengers returned to Europe.

In August 1942, Alex Goldschmidt and Helmut were murdered in Auschwitz concentration camp. Two months later, his wife, Toni, and their daughter Eva were killed in a forest outside Riga, Latvia.

“I had a desire to somehow be connected to my family, to the people who, by all rights, I should have known.”

Martin Goldsmith, author

One Goldschmidt daughter survived, escaping to Leeds, England. A son, Gunther Ludwig Goldschmidt, managed to flee to America when he was 27 — just in time to be spared. Once in the United States, he changed his name to George Gunther Goldsmith, and had two sons, one of them being Martin Goldsmith.

While in Germany, George Goldsmith was able to survive by being part of an all-Jewish performing arts ensemble called Jüdischer Kulturbund, composed of musicians, artists and actors who had been barred from German institutions. The Nazis permitted the group, which his wife (Martin Goldsmith’s mother) also be-

longed to, as part of a Nazi propaganda effort to shield the oppression of Jews from the outside world.

The group was eventually forced to shutter in 1941, though Goldsmith’s parents managed to make it to New York City immediately before.

They raised their two sons in St. Louis and spoke very little of their Jewish identity or past traumas, Goldsmith recalled.

“In my father’s mind, to be a Jew was to be an outcast, to be hated, to be murdered,” said Goldsmith. “So, I did not grow up with a sense of being a Jew.”

Goldsmith moved through life, attending Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, and ultimately settling in Kensington, with very little attachment to Judaism.

It wasn’t until his 50s that Goldsmith, who has worked as a radio host and classical music programmer for 45 years in the D.C. area, developed a yearning to understand his Jewish identity and family history.

“I had a desire to somehow be connected to my family, to the people who, by all rights, I should have known,” Goldsmith said, adding that he studied and had his bar mitzvah at age 55.

He went on to write two books about the Goldschmidt family history, one of which — “The Inextinguishable Symphony: A True Story of Music and Love in Nazi Germany” — has become the basis for an upcoming documentary film he co-wrote called “Winter Journey,” airing this December. The book and film chronicle the story of Goldsmith’s parents and their experience playing in an all-Jewish orchestra in Nazi Germany.

In researching his books, Goldsmith visited Oldenburg several times and even toured the stately house that his family once occupied, now inhabited by a German architect and his family.

“I experienced nearly every emotion in the catalogue,” Goldsmith said. “It was terribly exciting to be inside this house where my family had lived, and it was devastating to think of what had happened to them.”

Although the brief visit to the home brought Goldsmith closer to his relatives in some way, it was fleeting, he said.

“The house is no longer in the family. The paintings and various other art objects in the house are all gone. Traces of my family are gone. Except for this little kettle,” he said from the dining room of his Maryland home, where the kettle now sits on a shelf in a place of honor.

Goldsmith looked over at the small vestige of his legacy — a tangible piece of his history, that is finally his to hold.

“It’s an object that 85 years ago lived in my grandparents’ house. These people whom I never had a chance to meet passed by it and touched it and used it,” said Goldsmith, adding that this type of kettle was historically — and ironically, given the pandemic — used for the ceremonial washing of hands, though he is not sure how his grandparents used it, or if it was simply on display in their home.

Since the kettle arrived, every evening before bed, Goldsmith finds himself doing the same thing: “I walk past it, and I touch it,” he said. “It’s a way of telling my family good night.”

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LOTTERIES	
Results from Oct. 18	
DISTRICT	
Day/DC-3:	7-6-8
DC-4:	9-5-2-0
DC-5:	4-2-8-9-5
Night/DC-3 (Sat.):	7-4-3
DC-3 (Sun.):	6-5-5
DC-4 (Sat.):	9-5-8-2
DC-4 (Sun.):	9-8-0-2
DC-5 (Sat.):	0-8-9-0-2
DC-5 (Sun.):	5-2-5-1-9
MARYLAND	
Mid-Day Pick 3:	5-9-2
Mid-Day Pick 4:	5-2-4-4
Night/Pick 3 (Sat.):	3-3-3
Pick 3 (Sun.):	7-6-8
Pick 4 (Sat.):	9-8-7-7
Pick 4 (Sun.):	0-9-6-9
Match 5 (Sat.):	1-22-23-26-30 *16
Match 5 (Sun.):	10-23-25-30-37 *8
5 Card Cash:	5D-2S-4C-6D-7H
VIRGINIA	
Day/Pick-3:	1-4-0
Pick-4:	7-2-8-1
Cash-5:	7-19-21-28-30
Night/Pick-3 (Sat.):	2-2-7
Pick-3 (Sun.):	2-0-9
Pick-4 (Sat.):	6-3-3-5
Pick-4 (Sun.):	7-0-3-9
Cash-5 (Sat.):	3-7-12-16-33
Cash-5 (Sun.):	10-14-16-17-32
Bank a Million:	4-25-30-32-33-34 *19
MULTI-STATE GAMES	
Powerball:	6-10-31-37-44 **23
Power Play:	2
Cash 4 Life:	10-25-33-37-53 ‡2
*Bonus Ball **Powerball † Cash Ball	
For late drawings and other results, check washingtonpost.com/local/lottery	

Montgomery school board candidates elaborate on reopening, online learning

MONTGOMERY FROM B1

Meanwhile, enrollment is down, with worries about major budget shortfalls.

In this uncertainty, voters will choose between two candidates for each seat in nonpartisan contests. One hopeful is a professor, another a teacher and yet another is a sports radio personality. Many have been involved as advocates. Two are incumbents.

Candidate forums have gone virtual, including one earlier this month hosted by the League of Women Voters and several parent and advocacy organizations.

Below are answers each candidate gave to several questions from The Washington Post. They have been edited for clarity and brevity.

DISTRICT 2



Michael Fryar

Michael Fryar, 52, a lawyer who has worked for more than three decades in education, social work and advocacy, is making his first bid for office in Maryland. Early in his career, he was an elementary school teacher for eight years.

Top issues: The achievement gap, universal prekindergarten

How soon should the school system bring at least some students back for in-person learning?

Students should come back as soon as possible, under successful safety precautions as demonstrated by other school districts.

What should the school system do to better support learning online?

More thorough teacher training with better supports.

Do you support the county-wide boundary analysis that has sparked debate?

I support boundary analysis and redistricting as (many) students do not attend their closest schools.

What one thing should be done to narrow the achievement gap?

Redistricting is a start, followed by the creation of public school choice through theme and

magnet schools.

Background: Earned bachelor's and master's degrees at Southern Connecticut State University, an MBA at the University of Connecticut and a law degree at Quinnipiac University. He is the father of two children in county schools, at Fields Road Elementary and Ridgeview Middle.



Rebecca Smondrowski

Rebecca Smondrowski, 51, an incumbent seeking a third term, chairs the board's special populations committee and says she has

had a strong interest in students in special education, English-language learners and those who do best with alternative styles of learning.

Top issues: Ensuring safe, positive learning environments, and that every student can access appropriate programming and pathways.

How soon should the school system bring at least some students back for in-person learning?

As soon as we are cleared to safely do so.

What should the school system do to better support learning online? Continue efforts to ensure access to compatible technology systems for everyone, provide electronics (beyond Chromebooks) and support professional development for teachers.

Do you support the county-wide boundary analysis that has sparked debate?

I support conducting a boundary analysis in order to gain a better understanding of the utilization of facilities and program locations.

What one thing should be done to narrow the achievement gap?

Provide additional resources to students who need more, make sure our staff has access to the best training and materials to support these students, and expand quality early-childhood education.

Background: Attended West Chester University in Pennsylvania

and is the parent of two graduates of the school system. Previously worked as a legislative aide to former state senator Roger Manno (D-Montgomery) and held office on the county council of PTAs.

DISTRICT 4



Shebra Evans

Shebra Evans, 48, who lives in Aspen Hill, is an incumbent seeking a second term on the board and was twice elected by

her colleagues as president of the Montgomery County Board of Education.

Top issues: Close gaps in opportunity and achievement, and continue to expand public-private partnerships, particularly in early education.

How soon should the school system bring at least some students back for in-person learning?

The conversations are ongoing on what a safe return looks like for students and staff, but health and safety remain a top priority.

What should the school system do to better support learning online?

The system should remain flexible and make changes as needed during virtual learning.

Do you support the county-wide boundary analysis that has sparked debate?

Yes, I supported the hiring of an external consultant to do a districtwide analysis of school and cluster boundaries.

What one thing should be done to narrow the achievement gap? The continued expansion of prekindergarten.

Background: Earned a bachelor's degree in economics and finance from Tennessee State University and is the mother of two daughters who attend John F. Kennedy High School.

Steve Solomon, 44, a sports radio personality and podcast host known as "Solly" to listeners, is making a first bid for the school board as a way to contribute to the county where he has always lived. He resides in Silver Spring.



Steve Solomon

How soon should the school system bring at least some students back for in-person learning?

As soon as safely possible.

What should the school system do to better support learning online?

I believe the school system has done a good job transitioning to digital learning, but we have to understand that students (especially elementary and middle school kids) will not learn as much this way, so we need to adjust the curriculum accordingly.

Do you support the county-wide boundary analysis that has sparked debate?

Yes, I believe that the most important factors for boundary changes should be proximity (a child should go to the school closest to them unless they are in a special program at another school) and fixing overcrowding by balancing over- and under-capacity schools.

What one thing should be done to narrow the achievement gap?

We need to retain the best teachers, thereby giving all students the best chance to achieve.

Background: Earned bachelor's degrees in economics and theater at the University of Maryland and is active on several boards, nonprofits and issues in the county.

AT LARGE



Sunil Dasgupta

Sunil Dasgupta, 52, a political science professor at the University of Maryland Baltimore County, is a first-time candidate

who became active in the county-wide PTA council in 2017. He lives in Aspen Hill.

Top issues: Help students, teachers and staff recover from pandemic losses and make the school system truly more equitable.

How soon should the school system bring at least some students back for in-person learning?

Public health officials determine that timeline, while the job of school leaders is to plan, plan, plan, look into every contingency possible, and be ready when the time comes. There is little evidence of serious planning in the school system.

What should the school system do to better support learning online?

We need to ensure robust technology availability, reimagine lesson plans in discrete modules that students can go back to, and give paraeducators and teachers manageable workloads as well as technical and pedagogical support to make a direct connection with students.

Do you support the county-wide boundary analysis that has sparked debate?

Yes. We should have a new policy of boundary adjustment that is regular (not ad hoc), systemwide (not school by school), and predictable (announced years ahead).

What one thing should be done to narrow the achievement gap?

The school system needs to re-balance resources to address underlying opportunity gaps and make a big push to cut the reading deficit using early-childhood programs, more phonics instruction and increased content education.

Background: Earned his doctoral degree at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and is the father of three children who attend county schools: Rockville High, Loiederman Middle and Barnsley Elementary.

Lynne Harris, 58, a medical science teacher at Thomas Edison High School of Technology, is a former three-time president of the countywide council of PTAs who has advocated on education issues for more than a decade. She lives in Silver Spring.



Lynne Harris

Top issues: Open and transparent data, and bringing the student voice into all decision-making; they're the best barometer for how we're doing as a system.

How soon should the school system bring at least some students back for in-person learning?

We should be periodically bringing small groups of students into our schools now for in-person instructional purposes: special-education students, students really struggling academically and students in intensely hands-on career and technology programs like construction, medical science, auto mechanics, cosmetology.

What should the school system do to better support learning online?

Create a real, public-health-focused plan for bringing small groups of students who particularly need in-person instruction into schools (special education, most struggling, some career programs) and provide learning pods in schools for students who lack reliable broadband service.

Do you support the county-wide boundary analysis that has sparked debate?

I support the boundary analysis and believe a comprehensive and objective countywide review is long overdue. There should be more partnership between the school system and county planning officials.

What one thing should be done to narrow the achievement gap?

Put highly effective teachers in the most impacted classrooms, and highly effective administrators in the most impacted schools.

Background: Earned a bachelor's degree in nursing at the University of Tulsa, a law degree at Washington University in St. Louis and a master's in public health at Johns Hopkins University. Her son attends Albert Einstein High School.

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MARYLAND

Meet the state's heavily favored congressional incumbents, their opponents

BY MEAGAN FLYNN

All eight congressional incumbents in Maryland are looking to hang on to their seats for another term, and all eight are expected to pull off reelection on Nov. 3 with little trouble.

Still, several challengers have mounted aggressive campaigns despite the long-shot odds.

In the 7th District, Kimberly Klacik, a Republican vying for Democratic Rep. Kweisi Mfume's seat, managed to snag a slot at the Republican National Convention after one of her campaign ads went viral.

Mfume, who replaced the late Elijah E. Cummings, beat Klacik with nearly three-fourths of the vote in a special election in April and is expected to handily defeat her again.

In the 1st District, Rep. Andy Harris, the only Republican member of the Maryland delegation, faces a spirited challenge from a transgender military veteran, Mia Mason, who has gone after Harris for his record on LGBT issues.

The largely rural district covering Maryland's Eastern Shore heavily favors Republicans.

Partisan gerrymandering has been a particular issue for Maryland congressional districts, and the 6th District had been under legal review.

But the Supreme Court last year declined to throw out the map, leaving first-term Rep. David Trone (D) with a sharper advantage than he may have otherwise had if the lines had been redrawn in the historically GOP district.

State Del. Neil C. Parrott (Washington) is trying, however, to return the district to Republican hands.



Trone



Parrott

Here are summaries of all the candidates on the ballot in November:

1st District, Harris vs. Mason

Harris, an anesthesiologist and former state lawmaker, has

held his seat since 2011.

He has been a proponent of expanding H-2B visas for the agricultural and seasonal industries at the heart of the economy on Maryland's Eastern Shore, while also supporting the Trump administration's strict crackdowns on illegal immigration.

Harris is a longtime opponent of marijuana decriminalization and D.C. statehood who has voted against anti-discrimination measures such as the Equality Act.

His opponent, Mason, says those votes are in part what motivated her to run. She has pledged to support legislation intended to prevent discrimination or disparities in education, the environment and the workplace, among other things.

She also supports federal marijuana legalization.

The candidates differ widely on approaches to the coronavirus pandemic, as Harris opposed stay-at-home orders and has been skeptical of the effectiveness of masks, drawing criticism from Mason.

In 2018, Harris easily defeated Democrat Jesse Colvin, although his share of the vote — 60 percent — was lower than his previous three elections.

Mason has raised roughly \$2,000 from July to September, according to her campaign treasurer, who did not file a report with the Federal Election Commission on time Thursday. Harris raised \$235,000.

2nd District, Ruppertsberger vs. Salling

Rep. C.A. Dutch Ruppertsberger (D), who took office in 2003 and has won every reelection bid with more than 60 percent of the vote, faces state Sen. Johnny Ray Salling (R-Baltimore County), a former steelworker and Army veteran.

In a district that is home to the National Security Agency and U.S. Cyber Command, Ruppertsberger has long been focused on national defense and cybersecurity, serving on the House Appropriations Committee and previously as ranking Democrat of the House Intelligence Committee.

He says he has prioritized military readiness abroad and gun violence prevention at home.

Salling, who serves on the

state Senate's budget and tax committee, has described his platform as "pro-business," supporting cutting taxes and regulations while also pushing for better funding for trade and vocational education.

3rd District, Sarbanes vs. Anthony

Rep. John Sarbanes (D), in office since 2007, faces a rematch against Republican Charles Anthony, a retired Walter Reed National Military Medical Center employee and Army lieutenant colonel, whom Sarbanes trounced in 2018 with 69 percent of the vote.

Sarbanes, a former state education official, has prioritized election changes, seeking to expand voting rights, end partisan gerrymandering and overhaul the campaign-finance system.

He has also focused on environmental protection, namely to shield the Chesapeake Bay from runoff pollution, while pushing to promote better environmental education in public schools.

Anthony has said he supports ensuring health care is affordable and lowering taxes as a way to create jobs, but he has provided few details.



Brown



McDermott

4th District, Brown vs. McDermott

Rep. Anthony G. Brown (D), a two-term congressman and former state lawmaker and lieutenant governor, faces Republican George McDermott, who claims to be fighting against "judicial terrorism" on a campaign website largely devoted to conspiracy theories.

Brown, whose district is anchored in Prince George's County, has focused on reducing racial disparities in health care, education and the criminal justice system.

He has been a staunch advocate for victims of domestic violence, seeking to boost available support and resources, while also drawing from a 30-year career in the Army, including tours of duty in Iraq and Europe,

in his position on the House Armed Services Committee.

On climate issues, Brown supports offshore wind energy and prioritizes protecting the Chesapeake Bay.

McDermott also ran against Brown in 2018 and 2016, losing each time by a margin of more than 50 percentage points.

5th District, Hoyer vs. Palombi

House Majority Leader Steny H. Hoyer (D), a 20-term fixture in Congress and the longest-serving House Democrat, is being challenged by Republican Chris Palombi, a former U.S. Capitol Police officer and a Web programmer.

As majority leader, Hoyer has had a key seat at the negotiating table on major congressional action, including for coronavirus relief, budget deals and ending government shutdowns.

The Democrat says he has long prioritized workers' rights and job creation, as well as protection of Americans with disabilities and public education.

Palombi is running on a platform of protecting the free market and individual freedoms, such as gun ownership, while laying out several key priorities.

He wants to eliminate federally mandated testing in public education, push for greater oversight and regulation of the technology industry, and protect the Chesapeake Bay, among other things.

6th District, Trone vs. Parrott

Trone, a beverage business executive, faces Parrott in a district that includes historically conservative Western Maryland but also parts of liberal Montgomery County suburbs, giving Trone an edge.

Trone has a narrowly focused agenda tailored to his background and personal experiences. The son of an alcoholic, he has prioritized combating the opioid epidemic after losing a nephew to an overdose, seeking to boost resources for families who have a loved one fighting addiction while also cracking down on fentanyl trafficking.

He and his wife donated \$15 million to the ACLU in 2015, leading to the creation of the organization's Trone Center for

Criminal Justice Reform. In Congress, Trone has kept up his push for alternatives to incarceration and pretrial justice changes.

Parrott, the founder of a traffic engineering firm, has been in the House of Delegates since 2011. A tea party conservative, he may be best known for launching petition drives to force statewide referendums on laws he and his allies want to repeal, including same-sex marriage, in-state tuition for undocumented immigrants and congressional redistricting.

Maryland voters upheld each of the laws. Parrott also tried to undo a bill repealing the death penalty and to restrict bathroom access for transgender people, although he did not get enough signatures for those efforts to require a popular vote.

George Gluck, who spent decades in information technology, is seeking the 6th District seat as the Green Party candidate, and Jason Herrick is an independent write-in candidate.



Mfume



Klacik

7th District, Mfume vs. Klacik

Mfume, who filled Cummings's seat in April, will face Republican favorite Klacik in a rematch after routing her in the special election.

The 7th District seat is old digs for Mfume, who represented the majority-Black Baltimore area for almost 10 years before stepping down in 1996 to become president of the NAACP. A longtime bulwark for voting and civil rights legislation, Mfume has said his priorities include lowering prescription drug costs, banning assault weapons and improving economic opportunity in low-income neighborhoods.

Klacik, founder of a nonprofit for disadvantaged women, has raised her profile nationally and drawn the attention of President Trump with provocative advertisements highlighting blight and trash in West Baltimore, urging Black voters to ditch

Democrats and promising she will do better. She raised an astonishing \$6.4 million in the third quarter of this year, mostly from out-of-state donors, after Trump and his allies promoted her.

Her messaging echoes the videos that launched her into the limelight in the first place: Last year, she circulated footage of dumping grounds and abandoned buildings that led Trump to refer to Cummings's district as a "rat and rodent infested mess," setting off a weeks-long feud before the congressman's death.

Mfume has countered that he has a real plan to revitalize these neighborhoods, while Klacik relies on rhetoric. He accused her Friday of trying to buy a seat in Congress.

Ray Bly is a Republican write-in candidate, while Charles U. Smith is a Democratic write-in candidate.

8th District, Raskin vs. Coll

Rep. Jamie B. Raskin, a two-term congressman and constitutional law professor, will face Republican Gregory Coll, an aerospace engineer and government contractor.

Coll, who has no political experience, lists responsible spending, guiding new space policy and access to early-childhood education among his priorities.

Raskin has used his legal background to lead on election changes prized by liberals, such as pushing for ranked-choice voting, a national popular vote and the expansion of voting rights, including D.C. statehood.

A member of the House Judiciary and House Oversight committees, he has railed against the Trump administration's attempt to include a citizenship question in the census and has investigated deaths of immigrants in custody and white supremacists' infiltration of police departments, among other things.

Earlier this month, after Trump was diagnosed with covid-19, Raskin and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) introduced legislation that would create a commission to "help ensure effective and uninterrupted leadership" in the presidency.

Lih Young is a Democratic write-in candidate.

meagan.flynn@washpost.com

Reeling in a new day



MATT MCCLAIN/THE WASHINGTON POST

A fisherman walks past the rising sun at Sandy Point State Park on Sunday in Annapolis. After a couple days of pleasant weather, the Capital Weather Gang reports the week will continue on a similar note. Expect partly sunny skies and even warmer temperatures in coming days, with Tuesday highs in the mid-70s and Wednesday highs near 80 degrees. Find the full forecast on **B8**.

OBITUARIES

Former Fannie Mae CEO turned a sleepy agency into a political powerhouse

JOHNSON FROM B1

speaker of the Minnesota House of Representatives, enjoyed a long association with Walter F. Mondale, the U.S. senator from Minnesota who became Jimmy Carter's vice president. He chaired Mondale's White House campaign in 1984, which ended in a landslide loss to incumbent Ronald Reagan.

Along the way, Mr. Johnson cultivated connections that increased his clout and prominence. He co-founded a political consulting firm with Richard C. Holbrooke, the Democratic foreign policy adviser and diplomat, and sold it to the investment banking firm Shearson Lehman Brothers, where he was working when he met David O. Maxwell, the head of Fannie Mae, at a dinner party around 1985.

The company, formally known as the Federal National Mortgage Association, appeared to be at a crossroads. Formed by the federal government during the New Deal, it had been owned by private shareholders for the previous two decades but still maintained benefits because of its congressional charter — not least, an implicit guarantee that the government would bail it out of trouble if necessary, enabling it to borrow at favorable rates.

As the Reagan administration mulled privatizing Fannie Mae altogether, Maxwell enlisted Mr. Johnson to analyze the potential repercussions for the company. His work helped stave off privatization and earned him the chief executive's trust, leading Maxwell to bring him on as vice chairman

and heir apparent in 1990. He was elevated to chairman and CEO the next year.

Mr. Johnson set about expanding the company's portfolio, leveraging his political connections and turning a sleepy, quasi-public mortgage utility into "the largest and most powerful financial institution in the world," according to "Reckless Endangerment," a 2011 account of the financial crisis by Gretchen Morgenson, a Pulitzer Prize-winning business journalist, and Joshua Rosner, an expert on housing finance.

From the start, he worked to ensure that Fannie's lucrative government privileges remained in place and that new regulations were not overly burdensome. A 1992 law signed by President George H.W. Bush was heavily shaped by Mr. Johnson and the army of lobbyists he deployed on behalf of Fannie.

Drafted in the wake of the savings-and-loan crisis, the Housing and Community Development Act aimed to reduce the chance of an expensive taxpayer bailout if Fannie and Freddie Mac, its smaller brother, had bad loans on their books. The law created a new regulatory agency that the mortgage companies helped ensure was "a weakling," according to Wall Street Journal reporter James R. Hagerty's 2012 book, "The Fateful History of Fannie Mae."

It also permitted Fannie to hold far less capital than most banks and created a new affordable-housing focus for the company, requiring it to use its mortgage purchases to help low-income and "underserved" families

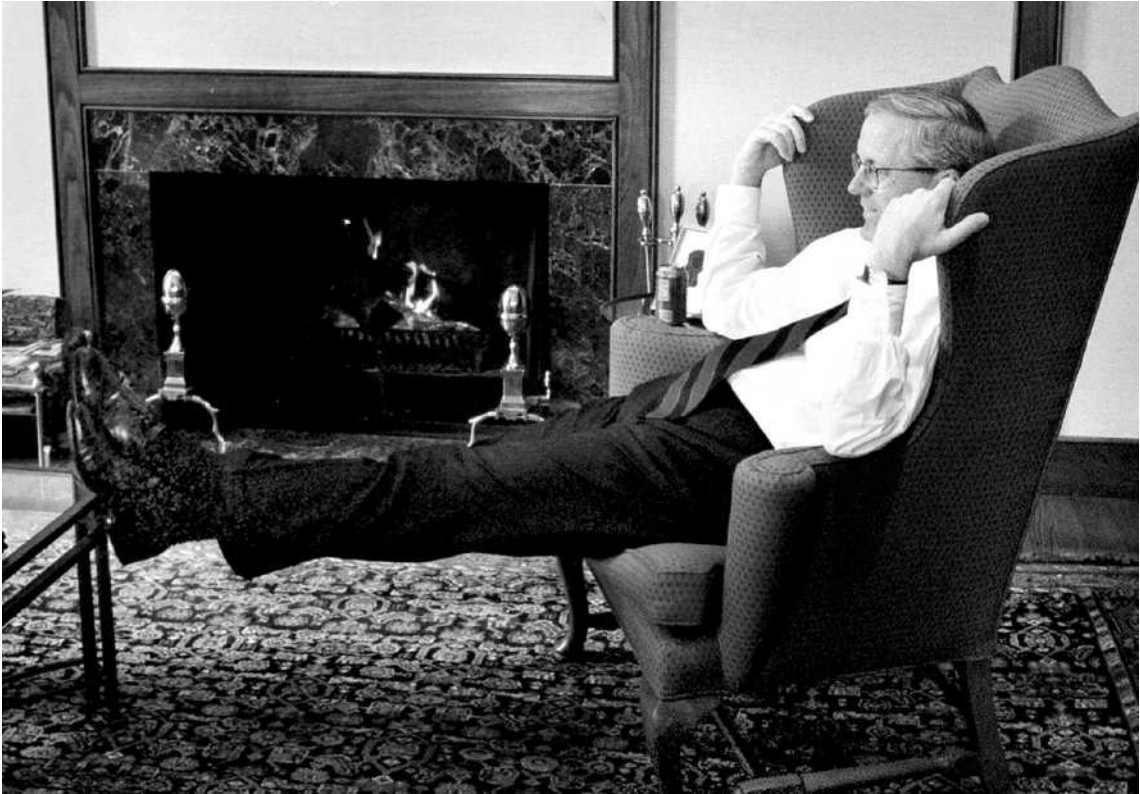
who previously had been unable to afford homes. Fannie began acquiring mortgages with lower down payments, and Mr. Johnson spoke glowingly of the "revolution" in homeownership that his company helped fuel.

"We think everything gets better with more homeownership. . . . And we have been working very aggressively on that," he told The Washington Post in 1998. He and his industry had increasingly reached out to poor and moderate-income home buyers, including African Americans, Hispanics and "new immigrants," he added. "And it's working. We have systematically reduced the level of down payment required."

Under Mr. Johnson, Fannie encouraged an automated lending process that relied heavily on credit history to determine loan terms and eligibility. It also embraced Countrywide Financial, a fast-growing lender that became its biggest mortgage provider and emerged as a key player in the subprime lending crisis after all but abandoning loan standards.

In part as a result of those changes, Fannie's net income more than tripled from \$1.17 billion in 1990 to \$3.91 billion in 1999, the year after Mr. Johnson retired. He reaped a fortune from the company's growth, earning about \$100 million over nine years, which he defended as comparable to compensation earned by other financial industry executives.

The company's abundant earnings and executive salaries at times drew scrutiny. A report from the Congressional Budget Office showed that while the im-



FRANK JOHNSTON/THE WASHINGTON POST

Fannie Mae CEO James A. Johnson in 1998. His political connections and lobbying savvy enabled him to ensure that regulations affecting the mortgage giant were not overly burdensome.

plied debt guarantee saved Fannie Mae \$3.9 billion in reduced funding costs in 1995, the company retained \$1.4 billion of that money in the form of profits, rather than passing it on to homeowners.

Mr. Johnson was able to sideline most of Fannie's critics, in part through what former congressman Jim Leach (R-Iowa) called "the greatest, most sophisticated lobbying operation in the modern history of finance."

The company — in some cases, its foundation — contributed to political campaigns and groups such as Acorn and the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation; filled its ranks with former public officials from both parties; funded academic studies that defended its work; and opened more than 50 "partnership offices" across the country, where Mr. Johnson touted billion-dollar "affordable financing" programs in photo shoots with politicians.

Some of Fannie Mae's profits were given to charities in Washington and elsewhere, and Mr. Johnson personally donated to organizations such as the Kennedy Center, where he created and endowed the Millennium Stage program of free evening performances.

Summing up Mr. Johnson's tenure, Hagerty wrote that he "presided elegantly over a fleeting period in which Fannie was at the apex of its power, able to please shareholders with ever-larger profits while crushing most of its political enemies."

Mr. Johnson had joined the board of Goldman Sachs by the time Fannie Mae was rocked by a multibillion-dollar accounting scandal in the early 2000s. His successor, former White House budget director Franklin D. Raines, bore the brunt of the

criticism for the accounting mess and, along with two other Fannie Mae executives, reached a settlement with the government; Mr. Johnson was not personally implicated.

He was also far from the scene when Fannie and Freddie collapsed and entered conservatorship during the 2008 financial crisis, leading to a \$191 billion bailout that has been repaid. But in both cases, he was blamed in part for promoting a hard-edge corporate culture and aggressive tactics that contributed to the turmoil.

"I sort of characterize Jim Johnson as corporate America's founding father of regulation manipulation," Morgenson told NPR in 2011. "This is a person who really, really wrote the blueprint for how to neutralize your regulator, how to manipulate Congress to get your way and, you know, essentially how to destroy your critics."

Mr. Johnson seldom addressed such criticism in the wake of the financial crisis. But while leading Fannie, he insisted that the company's "broad political support" was simply the result of its success in promoting "more homeownership for more people at a lower price."

"Fannie Mae," he told the New York Times in 1997, "is an instrument for improving the opportunities for Americans that is almost unrivaled."

James Arthur Johnson was born in Benson, Minn., on Christmas Eve in 1943. His mother was a schoolteacher, and his father — the son of Norwegian farmers — was a real estate broker and leader of the state's Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party.

Mr. Johnson studied political science at the University of Minnesota, where he was elected

student body president and graduated in 1965, and he received a master's degree in public policy from Princeton University in 1968.

By then, he had immersed himself in the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements, driving to Alabama to march with the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. from Selma to Montgomery. He attended a gathering of antiwar activists on Martha's Vineyard, Mass., where he roomed with a young Rhodes scholar named Bill Clinton.

In 2004, he chaired the vice-presidential selection committee for Democratic candidate John F. Kerry, with whom he vacationed in Idaho. He briefly held a similar role for Barack Obama in 2008 before stepping down as a campaign adviser, following reports that he had received preferential loan rates from Countrywide Financial.

Mr. Johnson's marriages to Katherine Marshall and Maxine Isaacs, former press secretary to the Mondale campaign, ended in divorce. In 2016, he married Heather Muir Kirby, a managing director at Deutsche Bank. In addition to his wife, survivors include a son from his second marriage, Alfred Johnson, also of Washington; a sister; and a grandson.

After retiring from Fannie, Mr. Johnson served on the boards of companies including United-Health Group, KB Home and Target and was vice chairman — with Holbrooke — of the Washington private-equity firm Perseus. Since 2011, he chaired the advisory council of the Stanford Center on Longevity, which promotes research into longer, healthier and more rewarding living.

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OBITUARIES

BESS ABELL, 87

Social secretary served in Johnson White House

BY EMILY LANGER

Bess Abell, who as White House social secretary during the Johnson administration orchestrated state dinners, wedding celebrations for the president's daughters and a calendar of receptions that made her, in the estimation of first lady Lady Bird Johnson, "the greatest showman since P.T. Barnum," died Oct. 9 at a family home in Potomac, Md. She was 87.

The cause was complications from Alzheimer's disease, said her husband, Tyler Abell, who served in the final months of Johnson's presidency as chief of protocol. His appointment carried ambassadorial rank and, along with his wife's position, placed the Abells among the elite Washington power couples of that era.

Mrs. Abell's acquaintance with the Johnsons dated at least to the 1950s, when Lyndon B. Johnson (D-Tex.) was serving as Senate majority leader and Mrs. Abell's father, Sen. Earle C. Clements (D-Ky.), was majority whip. The Johnsons feted Bess and Tyler Abell when they married in 1955, and five years later, the Abells named their second son Lyndon, after the future president.

Mrs. Abell volunteered in the 1960 campaign that thrust Lyndon Johnson to the vice presidency, under President John F. Kennedy, and became personal secretary to Johnson's wife, Lady Bird, after their victory. Upon Kennedy's assassination in 1963, Lyndon was sworn in as president, Lady Bird became first lady, and soon after, Mrs. Abell was named social secretary.

Perhaps the best-known woman to have previously held the role — at the time no man had served as White House social secretary — was Letitia Baldrige, a friend of Jacqueline Kennedy's who was credited with helping the Kennedys project the aura of elegance that made their White House years known as Camelot.

By at least one account, Mrs. Abell held even greater sway than Baldrige, who had been tasked with "lifting presidential occasions to a continental style and standard," government scholar MaryAnne Borrelli wrote in the 2011 book "The Politics of the President's Wife."

"Lady Bird Johnson placed tremendous confidence in Bess Abell, giving her even more responsibility than had been granted the Kennedy social secretaries," Borrelli continued. "Comparing the administrations, Chief Usher J.B. West concluded that Bess Abell 'did for Mrs. Johnson what Mamie Eisenhower and Jacqueline Kennedy had done for themselves. . . . It wasn't just that Bess assumed more authority than previous social secretaries, she'd been granted that authority by Mrs. Johnson.'"

Mrs. Abell set her clock five minutes fast to ensure the timely execution of her job. Her duties required military-level precision and coordination with the head usher, chef, florist and service staff of the White House — not to mention the entourages of visiting dignitaries from around the world. According to a Washington Post report at the time, she "planned, organized and staged the entertaining and feeding of nearly 80,000 presidential guests" — and that was only in her first three years on the job.

For the first couple, perhaps the most personally meaningful events organized by Mrs. Abell were the wedding reception for their younger daughter, Luci Johnson, and her husband, Patrick Nugent, in 1966 and the East Room wedding ceremony the next year uniting Luci's older sister, Lynda Johnson, and future Virginia governor Charles S. Robb.

The fraught nature of wedding planning — coupled with political exigencies such as a requirement that Luci's gown be pieced together so that most of the dress came from union shops — left Mrs. Abell with "no regrets," she told Time magazine, that she and Tyler Abell had eloped.

In her more official state functions, Mrs. Abell was responsible for finding gifts for visiting dignitaries. Instructing her on that duty, President Johnson told her to "spend more imagination and less taxpayer money," she later recalled.

There were occasional slip-ups, such as the time she presented a cigar humidor to a head of state who favored cigarettes. Another time, for a visit by British Prime Minister Harold Wilson, she arranged a performance at



ANNIE GROER/THE WASHINGTON POST

Bess Abell, seen here in 1998, worked alongside her husband, who in 1968 became Lyndon B. Johnson's chief of protocol.

the White House by the operatic baritone Robert Merrill.

"You can't be serious," national security adviser Walt W. Rostow exclaimed when he saw Merrill's proposed program. "This must be a joke. To the prime minister who pulled the British out of Suez, you're singing 'On the Road to Mandalay.' And you serenade the man who devalued the British pound with 'I've Got Plenty of Nothing?'"

Mrs. Abell and Merrill prepared a new program. But in the meantime, she told The Post, "the story leaked and the British Embassy told us that Wilson couldn't survive a change of program. Fortunately, we hadn't trashed all the first printed programs. So Merrill sang it all, and added one — 'It Ain't Necessarily So.'"

Elizabeth Hughes Clements was born in Evansville, Ind., on June 2, 1933. She spent her early childhood in Morganfield, Ky., before moving to Washington, where her father served as a congressman, and then to Frankfurt, Ky., during his tenure as governor. She later graduated from a boarding school in Nashville.

Her experience as a politician's daughter made her sensitive, in her role as White House social secretary, to the needs of presidential guests. She attended with her father at least one White House function that was "more crowded than the Union County Fair on the 4th of July," she later recalled. "Dying of thirst," she recounted, she found that "the only logical way to reach the punch bowl was sprout wings and fly."

She received a bachelor's degree in political science from the University of Kentucky in 1954 and the next year married Tyler Abell, who later trained as a lawyer and worked on the Kennedy-Johnson campaign. He, too, came from a well-connected family: His father, George Abell, was a former journalist and assistant chief of protocol from 1963 to 1970; his mother, Luvie Moore Pearson, was a noted Washington hostess; and his stepfather was prominent Washington columnist Drew Pearson.

"Lady Bird Johnson placed tremendous confidence in Bess Abell."

MaryAnne Borrelli, in "The Politics of the President's Wife"

Mrs. Abell served as White House social secretary until Johnson left office in 1969. During the Carter administration, she was executive assistant to Joan Mondale, the wife of Vice President Walter Mondale. Later, Mrs. Abell operated Bess Abell Enterprises, a Washington public relations firm, and with her husband oversaw the development of Merry-Go-Round Farm, a community of homes in Potomac, Md., built on land previously owned by Drew Pearson.

In addition to her husband, of Washington and Merry-Go-Round Farm, survivors include two sons, Dan Abell of Boulder, Colo., and Lyndon Abell of Washington; four grandchildren; and a great-granddaughter.

In 1968, when her husband became chief of protocol, Mrs. Abell joked to the New York Times that by the time Johnson left office, she would have "worked with four chiefs of protocol. Three of them I liked very much, and one I am in love with."

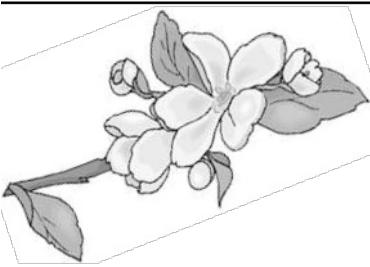
The novelty of a husband-wife duo in their positions prompted curiosity as well as amusement. "What would be the consequences to the United States," wondered Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, a former U.S. attorney general then serving as undersecretary of state, "if you and your wife had a fight and were not speaking to each other?"

emily.langer@washpost.com

IN MEMORIAM

SMITH

MARY M. SMITH "Happy"
August 8, 1905 - October 19, 1994
In memory of our mother, mother-in-law, grandmother, great-grandmother and friend. You had a smile for everyone, a heart as pure as gold.
To those who knew and loved you, your memories will never grow old.
Your Loving Family and Friends



DEATH NOTICE

HENSON

Dr. DONALD E. HENSON
Captain, U.S. Public Health Service (Ret.)

Donald Earl Henson, M.D., 85, long-time resident of Bethesda, MD, with his wife and daughter by his side, passed away on September 29, 2020 at Walter Reed National Military Medical Center.
He will be deeply missed by his beloved wife of 59 years Mathleen and his beloved daughter Marie Celeste.
Because of the pandemic, the viewing on Wednesday, October 21 at Pumphrey Funeral Home in Bethesda, MD must be private. A private Mass will be offered at Holy Cross Catholic Church in Garrett Park, MD on October 22 and private interment will follow at Crownsville Veterans Cemetery near Annapolis, MD. A celebration of Dr. Henson's life will be open to all as soon as pandemic conditions permit. The family would be grateful for memories of Dr. Henson to be sent to hensonma10@gmail.com.
For full obituary, and to view and sign the family guest book, please see:
www.PumphreyFuneralHome.com

DEATH NOTICE

KORNEGAY



MARGARET KORNEGAY

Born October 9, 1939, transitioned to victory on October 8, 2020. Family visitation on October 20, 2020, from 10:30 a.m. until 12 noon at Guiding Light Refuge, 1 - 51st Street, SE. Service will take place at 1 p.m. at National Harmony Memorial Park. In her honor VOTE to Build Back Better.

PARISH

LOUISE HOOD PARISH

On October 15, 2020, in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. Survived by her daughters Cate, Liz, and Margaret, and her brother Robert. Born in New York, she lived in Gaithersburg, Maryland, from 1971 to 2019. She worked at the National Geographic Society from 1972 until her retirement in 1994. No public service is planned. Donations in her memory may be sent to the American Cancer Society or Hospice Care of the Berkshires (Massachusetts).

RAFFERTY



CATHERINE DRISCOLL SHIRER RAFFERTY

Born August 20, 1943 and passed away peacefully at home on October 11, 2020. She was the daughter of Raymond and Martha Shirer, and eldest of four siblings: Susan Shirer Burkett, Arthur Shirer II, Rae Shirer Gaiety. She is survived by her siblings and four children: Kerry Michael Rafferty, Krista Ann Rafferty Romero, James Joseph Rafferty, Jr. and Gillian Rafferty Martin; and eight grandchildren. She is also survived by many loving relatives and friends Coast to Coast and locally in North Carolina and Virginia. Cathie was a loving mother, wife, grandmother, aunt, and a devoted friend to many. She raised the family in Barrington, IL; Denton, TX; and Great Falls, VA; and finally retired in Wilmington, NC. She was a Realtor in Northern Virginia for over 20 years and was extremely active in the communities where she lived. The family is having a private service and hopes to later gather to celebrate Cathie's life. She will be laid to rest at Arnon Cemetery in Great Falls, VA. The family requests in lieu of flowers that donations be made in honor of Cathie to VA DAR State Scholarship program. Details at
www.adams-green.com

VARGAS



JOSE EMILIO VARGAS

Jose Emilio Vargas, age 99, functionary of the Organization of American States (OAS) for thirty-five years in cultural affairs, bibliographer and critic died on October 12. He lived in Garrett Park, MD. Son of Jose Vargas Porras and Austelina Salas Gamboa he was born in Alajuela, Costa Rica. He received his early education in his native country and in England, where his father was Costa Rican minister to the court of Saint James. In 1940 he came to the United States on a scholarship to Birmingham-Southern College. Two years later, he transferred to Furman University where he completed his undergraduate studies. After graduation he worked at the Institute of Living, in Hartford CT, in the Department of Educational Therapy. In 1947 he was appointed instructor in Spanish at the University of Vermont, where he met Lena M. Bessette, a nursing student, whom he married in 1949. He did doctoral work in Romance languages and linguistics at Cornell and Northwestern Universities, where he also taught. In 1951 he came to Washington DC as an editor of the Inter-American Review

of Bibliography published by the OAS. At the OAS he later became chief of the Division of Philosophy and Letters, where he managed many cultural programs throughout the Western Hemisphere, as well as publications pertaining to Latin America.
At one time he was editor of a Spanish language encyclopedia issued in Chicago by Encyclopedia Britannica. He published several critical studies, particularly on literary subjects, among them essays on the Columbian novelist Jose Maria Vargas Vila, the Mexican writer Emilio Abreu Gomez, the Spanish novelist Vicente Blasco Ibanez, and the Nicaraguan poet Ruben Dario. He was predeceased by his wife Lena Bessette Vargas, brother Rodrigo Vargas, sisters Maria Monisera (Frank), Yolanda de Chevez (Alfredo), Flory Mejia (Ismael), sisters-in-law Therese Ferland (Ronnie), Diana Philipoom (Rudy). He is survived by sisters-in-law Rosalba Vargas of San Jose, Costa Rica, Aline Moore of Cape Elizabeth ME, and brother-in-law Dona Bessette (Pat) of Hardwick VT.
He is survived by his children Jose E. Vargas II (Claudia) of Knightdale NC, Maria del Carmen Zeckhauser (David) of Maplewood NJ, J. Ramon Vargas (Patricia) of Webster NY, Vicente A. Vargas of San Diego CA, and Yolanda T. Vargas of Rockville MD; as well as grandchildren Justin Vargas (Carrie), N. Westy Vargas (Kristi), Amanda Vargas Prusnowski (Nathan), Marisa Vargas, Alejandro Vargas, Tara Davis Armstrong (Taylor), Cory Davis and Kaili Davis; great-grandchildren Ava, Ian, Grace and Gabe. He is also survived by many nieces, nephews and cousins in the US and Costa Rica. Due to the pandemic, the Mass of Christian Burial was celebrated by immediate family at Holy Cross Church, 4900 Strathmore Avenue, Garrett Park, MD 20896 on Thursday, October 15. Interment was at Gate of Heaven Cemetery. Memorial contributions, in his name, may be made to Furman University to the "For Furman Fund", Development Department, 3300 Poinsett Hwy., Greenville, SC 29613.
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ANNOUNCEMENT

ANNOUNCEMENT

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DEATH NOTICE

VAN DER BIJL

RUDOLF VAN DER BIJL

Born on October 8, 1938 in Leiden, the Netherlands; died on October 19, 2010 in Arlington, VA. He is survived by his wife, France-Line, and his children Sophia and Edmond. It's hard to believe that it's been 10 years, but he is still in our hearts.

DEATH NOTICE

CHESLEY-TIDLINE



LOTTIE M. CHESLEY-TIDLINE

On Tuesday, October 6, 2020. The loving mother of Ava, Sterling and Joseph Tidline. The family will receive friends on Tuesday, October 20 from 10 a.m. until the Mass of Christian Burial at 11 a.m. at Our Lady Queen of Peace, 3800 Ely Place, SE. Interment Resurrection Cemetery. Arrangements entrusted to the Ralph Williams II Funeral Service-301-262-2387.

DOWNEY



LARRY THOMAS DOWNEY

August 8, 1961-September 28, 2020
The Downey family mourns the unexpected passing of their patriarch. He is survived by mother Annie Ruth Wright, wife Tawanna Downey, father of Gregory Williams, Anisha Downey, Quinton Downey, and stepfather to Tamica, Tarnisha, and Tiara Burno. He leaves behind two grandchildren, two brothers, five sisters, and a host of other relatives and friends. Family will receive guests during visitation on Wednesday, October 21, 2020 from 9:30 a.m. until funeral services begin at 10:30 a.m. at J.B. Jenkins Funeral Home, 7474 Landover Rd., Hyattsville, Md. followed by interment in National Harmony Memorial Park in Hyattsville.

SMITH



JEAN MARIE CALHOUN SMITH

Passed peacefully in her sleep on October 10, 2020. Jean was born in Washington, DC, on October 18, 1929 and spent some of her childhood in Georgia. Jean graduated from Miner Teachers College with a teaching degree. She married Ira Smith in 1951 and from that union they were blessed with four beautiful children. Jean was a long-standing member of Calvary Episcopal Church of Washington, DC. She was active in many guilds and served as a lay minister until her health no longer allowed her to continue. Jean taught in the Washington, DC, public school system for over 30 years with the majority of her career at Kimball Elementary. She also held office for multiple terms as an executive board member of the DC Teachers Union. Jean retired from teaching in the mid 1980's. She traveled as a DC delegate for the Democratic presidential conventions. Jean spent her leisure years enjoying her family and friends. Jean was preceded in death by her husband Ira and daughter Deborah. She is survived by her children Ira, Diane and Dwayne, grandchildren and great grandchildren. The family will celebrate her wonderful life privately at a time to be determined.

DEATH NOTICE

STRAUS



DIANNE MORMAN STRAUS
(Age 74)

Died peacefully in her sleep on Sunday, September 27, 2020. She is survived by her husband, Jerry, with whom she shared a devoted 39 years of marriage; her daughter, Jennifer; her stepsons, Joshua (Melanie), Adam (Robert), and Peter (Stephanie); and her grandchildren, Naomi and Caleb. She is predeceased by her parents, Doris Carter and Charles Morman. There is no service planned, but the family asks for donations in her memory be made to the Children's Hospital of Washington, where she served as founding Executive Director, and Martha's Table.



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(PER DAY)

MONDAY-SATURDAY
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2" - \$340 (text only)
3" - \$490
4" - \$535
5" - \$678

SUNDAY
Black & White
1" - \$179 (text only)
2" - \$376 (text only)
3" - \$543
4" - \$572
5" - \$738

6"+ for ALL Black & White notices
\$150 each additional inch wkday
\$179 each additional inch Sunday

MONDAY-SATURDAY
Color
3" - \$628
4" - \$676
5" - \$826
SUNDAY
Color
3" - \$665
4" - \$760
5" - \$926

6"+ for ALL color notices
\$249 each additional inch wkday
\$277 each additional inch Sunday

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Today	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Fog, partly sunny	Fog, partly sunny	Mostly sunny	Partly sunny, warm	Warm, partly sunny	Cloudy, rain possible
					
70° 58°	78° 63°	79° 62°	80° 62°	77° 60°	75° 58°
FEELS*: 69°	FEELS: 78°	FEELS: 79°	FEELS: 81°	FEELS: 78°	FEELS: 73°
CHANCE PRECIP: 10%	P: 10%	P: 5%	P: 10%	P: 25%	P: 35%
WIND: S 6-12 mph	W: SSW 6-12 mph	W: SSW 6-12 mph	W: S 4-8 mph	W: SSE 4-8 mph	W: SSW 6-12 mph
HUMIDITY: Moderate	H: Moderate	H: Moderate	H: Moderate	H: Moderate	H: Moderate

Amal	88/19/pc	90/81/rt	Key: s-shorts, pc-party clothes, c-clothes, r-rain, sh-sunny, th-thundersnows, sf-snow flurries, sn-snow, Hc- Sources: AccuWeather.com ; US Army Centralized Allergen Extract Lab (pollen data); airnow.gov (air quality data); National Weather Service
irobi	77/60/pc	77/60/rt	
in Delhi	91/66/pc	92/65/ps	
olo	45/63/pc	41/39/rf	
atawa	48/37/rf	49/37/cf	
ris	58/50/pc	62/58/rf	* AccuWeather's RealFeel Temperature® * combines over a dozen factors for an accurate feel of the conditions really
ague	51/35/pc	55/41/cf	



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*— Brad and Marianne W.
Germantown, MD*



ASK AMY

She's been married for more than 30 years, but her husband scares her with his aggressive driving. How does she get him to ease up? **c4**



CAROLYN HAX

A woman who budgets to the penny wonders how to deal with all those weddings, showers and parties she has to bring gifts and dishes to. **cs**



KIDSPOST

More than 3 million kids are walking around with braces. But how do they straighten teeth? The answer: It's all about the bones. **cs**



NICOLE RIFKIN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

A rundown of President Trump's most viral, confusing and consequential posts on his favorite medium

BY TRAVIS M. ANDREWS

“Did you see what the president tweeted?” It doesn't matter on which side of the aisle you sit or if you plop down right in the middle. At some point since the inauguration, furious or elated, you probably uttered those words.

President Trump has parted with many conventions of the highest office over the past four years, but perhaps none has been more visible than his keeping of a personal Twitter account.

He has used it to announce policy, move markets, attack the press, dispute reports, insult enemies and energize his base — all unvarnished by a journalist's interpretation.

“Without Twitter, there would be no Donald Trump presidency,” said CNN senior political analyst Kirsten Powers. “And I think he knows that.”

Politicians have always taken to the latest technology to craft their images, whether President Franklin Roosevelt's “fireside chats” on the radio or President John Kennedy's news conferences on television. Twitter has offered Trump immediacy and rendered pesky handlers somewhat obsolete, as reaching his 87 million followers takes one click of a button.

“The greatest weakness politicians have is they're inauthentic. Behind closed doors, they do offensive things. But when they're in public, they act with perfect decorum,” said Ari Fleischer, a Fox News contributor who served as President George W. Bush's press

secretary. “I think one of the reasons Trump remains politically competitive is because a lot of Americans credit him with being authentic, even if he goes too far.”

Jamie Weinstein, a conservative political journalist and host of the podcast “The Jamie Weinstein Show,” predicted that the account has so resonated with Trump's base and so infuriated his critics that “when the president leaves office, his Twitter account still will probably be the most powerful Twitter account in the world.”

But not all tweets are created equal. As Election Day approaches, we selected the defining tweets of Trump's presidency, the ones that made the most impact and highlighted major themes from the past four years.

SEE TWEETS ON C2

11 shows to watch if you can't take more live TV

As the final Trump-Biden debate approaches, streaming services give us the chance to escape

BY BETHONIE BUTLER

Between Supreme Court confirmation hearings, dueling town halls between networks and presidential nominees, and another debate scheduled for this week, live television has become a necessary evil *in these times*. But, blessedly, it's not our only option. With that in mind, we bring you this multigenre list of shows you can stream right now to take your mind off . . . everything else.

‘Schitt’s Creek’ (Netflix)

All six seasons of this Canadian sitcom, which became a sleeper hit and went on to sweep the comedy categories at this year's Emmy Awards, are now available to stream. The show follows the Roses, a wealthy family who loses their vast fortune and are forced to relocate to a motel in a small, unfortunately named town they

originally bought as a joke. Veteran comedy duo Catherine O'Hara and Eugene Levy play the matriarch and patriarch, and the supporting cast (which includes Levy's real-life son and daughter) is nothing to sneeze at. Go forth and binge this pure delight.

‘The Boys’ (Prime Video)

So you have a Prime subscription, but you always forget to check out the offerings there. We've got you covered! This comic-inspired series follows a team of vigilante outcasts determined to save the world from superheroes drunk on their own power. As The Washington Post's David Betancourt noted following the show's second-season premiere last month, “The Boys” is not for the faint of heart — expect gore galore — but it's a thrilling ride if you like to root for the underdog.

SEE TV ON C5

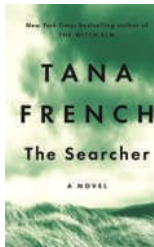
BOOK WORLD

‘The Searcher’ uncovers a bog's worth of secrets

BY MAUREEN CORRIGAN

“The Searcher,” by Tana French, is a slow burn of a suspense story. As in that apocryphal myth of the frog in boiling water, the novel lulls us readers to lie back and bask in French's radiant imagery and language — in particular, its descriptions of the rough beauty of the West of Ireland where the story takes place. Then, the heat is turned up, higher and higher. By novel's end, anyplace — even the grimmest, meanest streets of hard-boiled crime fiction — seems preferable to the sinister and silent watchfulness of the lush Irish countryside.

As French has acknowledged in interviews, the title of her latest stand-alone crime novel is a nod to the John Ford masterpiece, “The Searchers.” Like Ford's 1956 film, French's novel is essentially a Western. (Perhaps even that “West of Ireland” set-



THE SEARCHER
By Tana French
Viking, 464pp.
\$27

ting is a sly wink at the novel's generic origins.) A lone man, an outsider, is drawn into an obsessive quest to find a young person who has disappeared. In Ford's film, Civil War veteran Ethan Edwards, played by John Wayne, searches for his niece, who was abducted from her family's homestead by a Comanche raiding party.

French's “old soldier” is named Cal Hooper. He's divorced, semi-stranded from his adult daughter and recently retired from the

SEE BOOK WORLD ON C4

Starring in a future she hopes can be a reality

Sonequa Martin-Green reprises her transcendent role on the third season of ‘Star Trek: Discovery’

BY DAVID BETANCOURT

A socially distanced 2020 turned out to be sound medical advice for actress Sonequa Martin-Green.

She resumed her popular role as Michael Burnham on the third season of “Star Trek: Discovery,” which just landed on the streaming service CBS All Access. It wrapped filming in early March, and she returned to Los Angeles just before California issued stay-at-home orders to prevent the spread of the novel coronavirus.

This new season was Martin-Green's most challenging because she was pregnant with her second child. She described the pregnancy as much more complicated than her first, and after filming, she was told to take it easy, simple doctor's orders to follow during a pandemic.

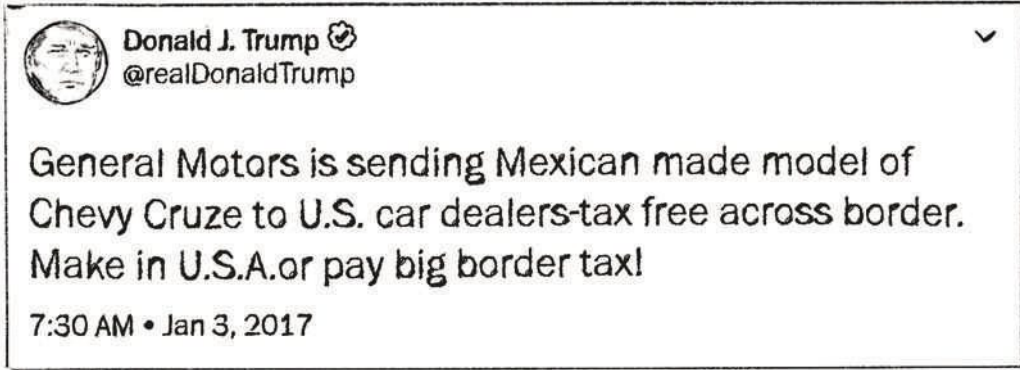
“That was the silver lining for me,” Martin-Green told The Washington Post. “I was able to stay at home and get off my tail and rest. And another prayer of mine had been to spend as much time with my family as humanly possible. I was able to just squeeze all the family time out of those months that I could.”

The year 2020 and all that has come with it has been a monumental one for Martin-Green, who has become the face of the next generation of “Star Trek” storytelling while also strengthening her voice in support of the Black Lives Matter movement in a moment of American social awakening. She and her husband, “Walking Dead” actor Kenric Green, welcomed their second child, Saraiyah Chaunté Green, on July 19 (via a home birth that was planned before the

SEE MARTIN-GREEN ON C4

From ‘covfefe’ to catchphrases

TWEETS FROM C1



THE MARKET MOVER

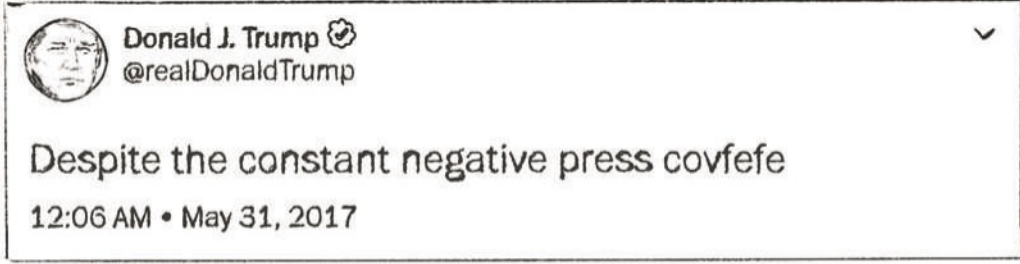
He wasn’t even the president yet. Seventeen days before the inauguration, as the sun was rising, Trump tweeted this threat to the automotive company.

Google searches for GM shot up 200 percent, while the company’s stock value declined by 24 cents, a .07 percent drop thanks to 26 words. The corporation responded within an hour and a half with a statement: “All Chevrolet Cruze sedans sold in the U.S. are built in GM’s assembly plant in Lordstown, Ohio,” adding that the Cruze was assembled in Mexico for “global markets.”

“Donald Trump’s Twitter account is the greatest

bully pulpit that has ever existed,” Corey Lewandowski, Trump’s former campaign manager, told The Washington Post at the time. “In 140 characters, he can change the direction of a Fortune 100 company, he can notify world leaders and he can also notify government agencies that business as usual is over.”

Turns out that wasn’t just spin. And Trump’s tweets have affected global markets so often that analysts at JPMorgan created an index measuring the probability that his tweets moved the bond market, dubbing it the “Volfefe Index.”



THE MYSTERIOUS TYPO

Just after midnight, Trump sent that strange sentence fragment into the world, where it remained until its deletion some five and a half hours later. As it was relentlessly retweeted and liked, the press — this reporter included — jumped to cover the typo, as if it were a matter of national security.

“Who can figure out the true meaning of ‘covfefe’ ??? Enjoy!” Trump cheekily tweeted the next morning.

“I think the president and a small group of people know exactly what he meant,” then-press secretary Sean Spicer said at a news conference. (Narrator voice: They didn’t.)

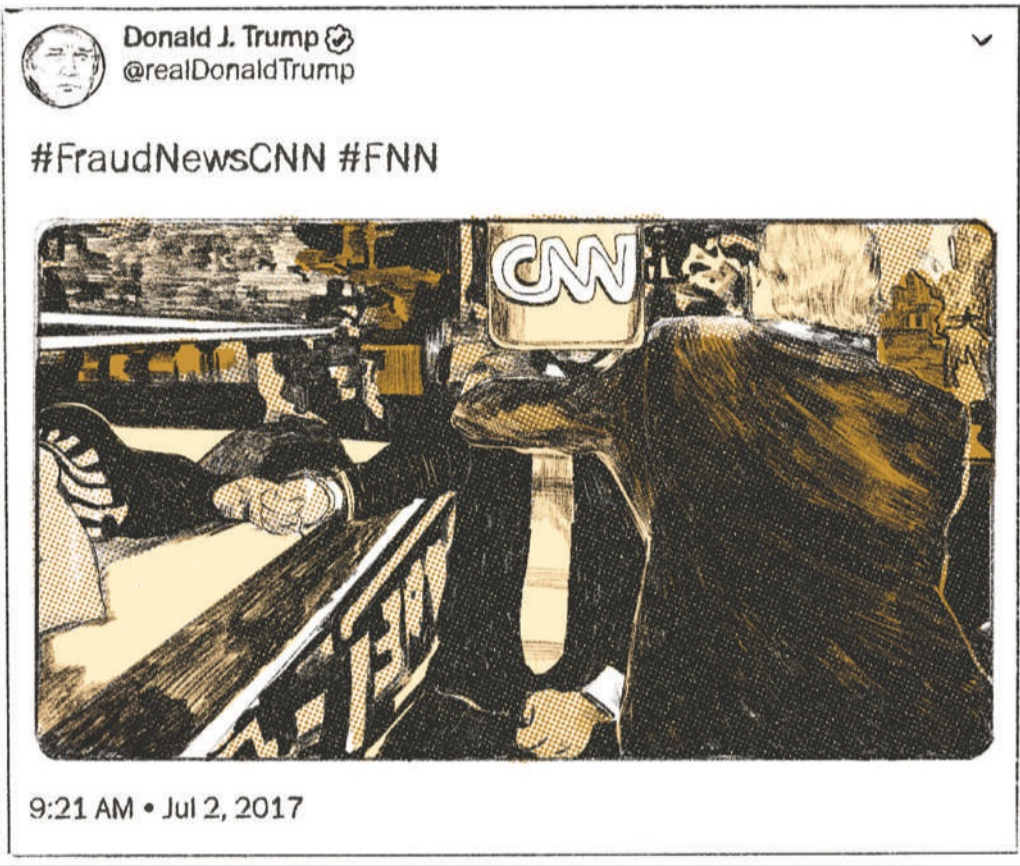
Personalized license plates bearing the typo were claimed across the country (but not in Georgia, where it was banned). Dozens upon dozens of applications for the word poured into the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office. Linguists sought its pronunciation. A bill in the House was named after it, as was a racehorse. The bill failed; the horse won.

For Trump’s critics, “covfefe” represented incom-

petence. For his supporters, it displayed both relatability — Who *doesn’t* make typos? — and proof that the media will make a mountain out of any mole hill of a mistake. Some conspiratorial-minded ones acted as if they knew exactly what it meant. A meme was born.

“It’s not your typical auto-correct. . . . It’s this odd, weird, hysterical grouping of letters,” said Eric Schnure, an ex-speechwriter for former vice president Al Gore who has written jokes for politicians on both sides of the aisle. “The follow-up is what made it live. We can only guess, but if he had said, ‘That’s funny. I typed that while falling asleep,’ would the story be the same?”

Fleischer, though, argued that the typo may have been a net positive for the president. “I get a kick out of reporters who chide him for spelling errors in his tweets. I mean, I’m sorry, but those reporters come across as the scolding schoolteacher we never liked. And Trump is once again seen as real,” he said. “Plus, it was just a funny word.”



THE TROLLING GIF

Trump certainly doesn’t keep his feelings about the mainstream media private (or vice versa). He’s tweeted the term “fake news” more than 800 times since his inauguration.

Never was his loathing more evident than when he tweeted a GIF showing him performing in a WWE professional wrestling match, tackling and punching his opponent, who had a CNN logo superimposed on his head.

Political historian Julian Zelizer said that it “embodies everything” about Trump’s Twitter presence. “It’s outrageous. It has a violent message, which you can say, if you’re a defender, that it’s just meant to be a joke. And it’s going after an institution that he sees as oppositional.” (The White House and the Trump campaign did not return requests for comment for this article.)

“Every president has fought with the national media at some point,” Ronald Reagan biographer Craig Shirley said, recalling a letter that Harry Truman sent to a Washington Post critic threatening to punch him in the nose, or Franklin Roosevelt “handing an imaginary dunce cap” to a reporter and telling him to sit in the corner. Those, however, weren’t public declarations.

The CNN GIF was reportedly first posted to Reddit’s now-banned far-right message board r/

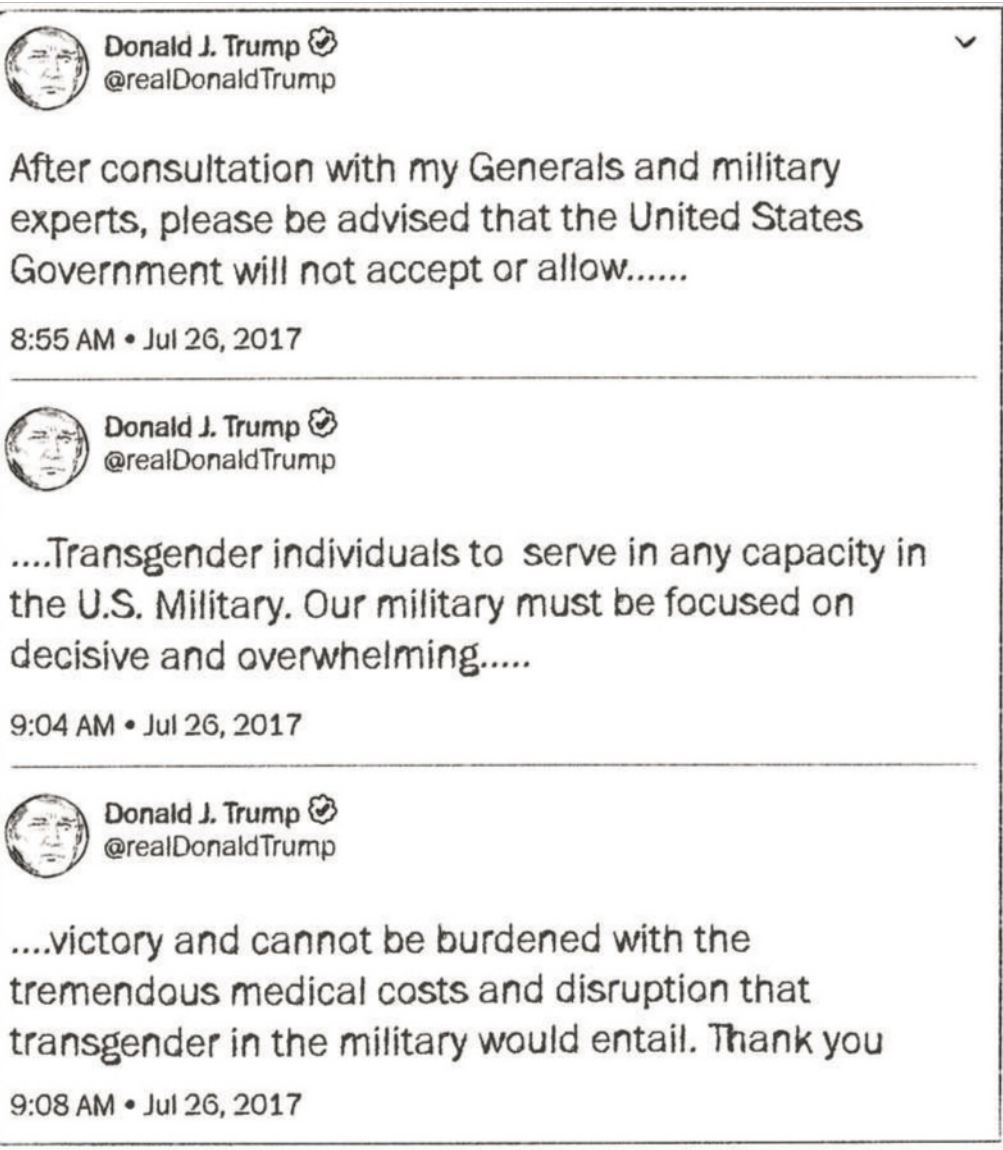
The_Donald by a user who later apologized for it. How Trump found it remains a mystery (the White House claims he didn’t get it from the online message board). Courtney Radsch, advocacy director for the Committee to Protect Journalists, told the Guardian at the time, “Singling out individual journalists and news outlets creates a chilling effect and fosters an environment where further harassment and even physical attacks are seen to be acceptable.”

“I was outraged by it, and I found it kind of scary,” said Powers, the CNN political analyst. “I used to be on Fox where I said things that made the audience mad all the time. It wasn’t until Trump that I started having legitimate fears.”

Others, though, pointed out that the GIF might have been a form of Internet trolling, a childish attempt to provoke a disproportionate reaction from the media.

It wasn’t “exactly a presidential tweet, but also not quite the threat to the free press too many made it out to be,” argued Weinstein, the conservative journalist. “Sometimes it’s okay to not take his tweets literally or seriously.”

Earlier this month, after Trump ended his covid-19 hospital stint, Sen. Kelly Loeffler (R-Ga.) tweeted a version of the same GIF with the CNN logo replaced by an image of the coronavirus.



THE POLICYMAKER

Aaron Belkin was visiting his parents in Cleveland when a phone call woke him up. An overseas journalist wanted comment about a tweet he hadn’t seen yet. For Belkin, director of the Palm Center, a think tank in San Francisco that promotes the study of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people in the military, that tweet aimed to destroy his life’s work.

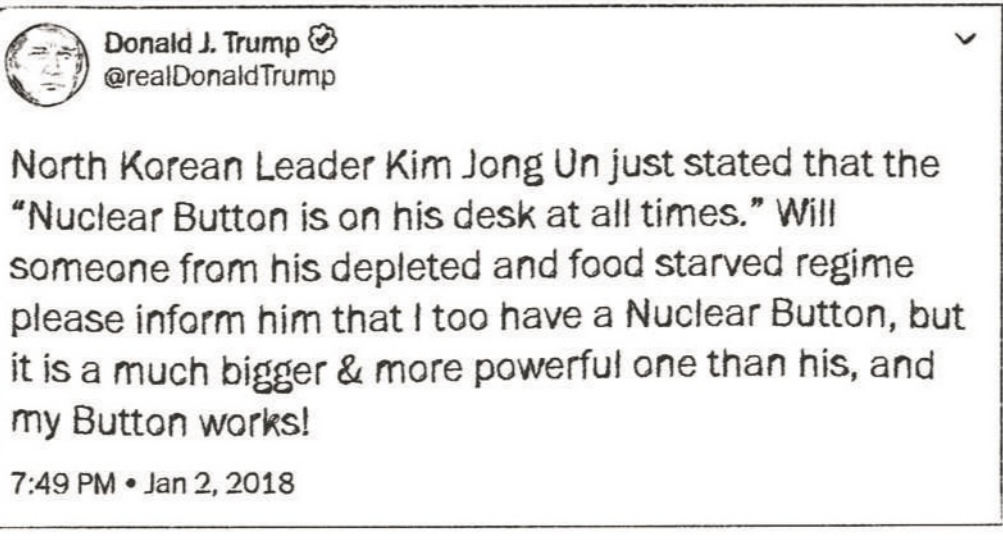
“I was just kind of very sad and upset but had to put the emotions aside to deal with the crisis,” Belkin said. “If you can ban LGBT people from the military, that will have ripple effects across the rest of government and society. And it sets a precedent for discrimination in other realms like health-care insurance and various civil rights.”

The tweets shocked many people, especially since

Trump had called himself a “real friend” to the community while on the campaign trail. But it also led to logistical questions: Were these tweets an official statement of policy?

“It was unclear what it was. It contradicted some of what the military was doing, and it sowed a lot of confusion,” Zelizer said. But “by putting something out there, it’s then a discussion. And you’re forcing the military to respond and to deal with this themselves, and you don’t have to be the person doing it.”

The tweets were later used against the president in a protracted legal battle as he attempted to implement his proposed ban, one of several times his online statements undercut his policy proposals in court.



THE THREAT

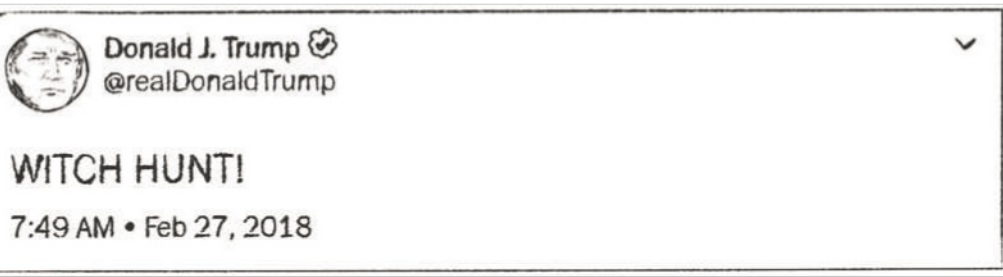
Trump doesn’t use his Twitter account just to announce unformed policy. He also uses it for international diplomacy with all the finesse of a shock jock, as seen two days into 2018, when he tweeted this implicit threat.

This was “a remarkable moment. It took a conversation that normally would have existed through diplomatic channels, through the State Department, through ambassadors, through people who were trying to ratchet down tensions between two nations, and instead blew it up,” said Princeton history professor Kevin M. Kruse. The closest situation in U.S. history he could recall was at the height of the Cold War when a hot mic caught Reagan

during a sound check saying: “I’m pleased to tell you today that I’ve signed legislation that will outlaw Russia forever. We begin bombing in five minutes.”

“But that was unintentional,” Kruse said. “That was a joke. He was clearly not serious.”

Others, though, argue that forgoing the usual diplomatic channels might be an effective tactic, particularly when dealing with authoritarian regimes. Fleischer cited an argument often made on the right that the public threat frightened Kim into diplomatic conversations. “The irony of that tweet that made people run for the hills thinking war was imminent may have very well created a much more calm atmosphere.”



THE CATCHPHRASE

Trump has always showed a fondness for the phrase, which he’s tweeted more than 370 times since first uttering it back in 2011, referring to the sexual harassment allegations against Herman Cain, a businessman then seeking the Republican presidential nomination. But he really began using it in earnest during the Mueller investigation, and February 2018 was its first solo appearance. Soon enough, he’d sent it out more than “make America great again,” which he’s tweeted a mere 175 times.

One of Trump’s strengths as a politician is his knack for coining phrases that are adored by his base and become pebbles in the shoes of his critics.

Twitter is a place to try out new riffs, insulting nicknames and catchphrases, often without context — perhaps the only platform where that’s possible, since shouting them out randomly at a news conference before walking offstage wouldn’t make much sense. He’ll then work them into his speeches and grin as his base chants them, “just like a stand-up, to see what lands and what doesn’t,” said Weinstein.

On the other hand, some of the phrases he’s created during his presidency seem less intentional. Case in point: “a very stable genius.” That came at the

SEE TWEETS ON C3

TWEETS FROM C2

end of three tweets in January 2018 in which he praised his own “mental stability and intelligence.” It quickly became a meme, mostly used to mock Trump, such as by superimposing those words over an image of a donkey in — you guessed it — a stable. It also became the title of a book about his presidency by Post reporters Carol D. Leonnig and Philip Rucker. “Who actually calls himself a genius?” said Schnure.

“Then you add the word ‘stable’ in front of it, and now you’re [unintentionally] next-level funny. Because that’s just not an adjective you put before ‘genius.’ Are you a *Mensa* genius? An *evil* genius? Maybe. But he picked a word that in an emergency room is used to say someone is going to be okay.” Trump has embraced the phrase, saying and tweeting it several times since, which has helped deflate its power as an insult. “He knows it gets under people’s skin, so he’s going to repeat it, have fun with people,” Schnure said.



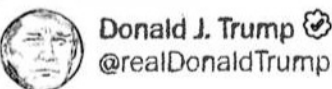
Mike Pompeo, Director of the CIA, will become our new Secretary of State. He will do a fantastic job! Thank you to Rex Tillerson for his service! Gina Haspel will become the new Director of the CIA, and the first woman so chosen. Congratulations to all!

8:44 AM • Mar 13, 2018

THE SURPRISE FIRING

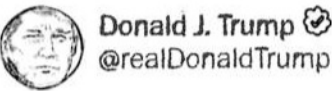
Historians think President Abraham Lincoln fired Union Gen. Nathaniel Banks in a telegram. Truman canned Gen. Douglas MacArthur the same way. Trump, however, became the first to dispatch with an employee via social media when he announced the ousting of then-Secretary of State Rex Tillerson on Twitter, three hours before calling and telling him. In the intervening time, Tillerson, who had cut ties with ExxonMobil after 41 years to assume the role, merely told reporters in a statement that he “did not speak to the president, and is unaware of the reason” for his firing, but he was “grateful for the

opportunity to serve.” “Even within his own administration and within the Republican Party, he likes to use this to keep people on their toes and to make them feel uncertain about what comes next,” said Zelizer. While it may have been an effective display of Trump’s power, Tim Fullerton, a former Obama administration official, suggested that the firing had unseen ripple effects on morale. “I would have felt demoralized that the president thought so little of my department and the leadership there that firing off a tweet announcing the firing of somebody was appropriate,” he said.



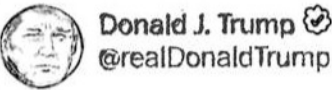
So interesting to see “Progressive” Democrat Congresswomen, who originally came from countries whose governments are a complete and total catastrophe, the worst, most corrupt and inept anywhere in the world (if they even have a functioning government at all), now loudly.....

8:27 AM • Jul 14, 2019



....and viciously telling the people of the United States, the greatest and most powerful Nation on earth, how our government is to be run. Why don’t they go back and help fix the totally broken and crime infested places from which they came. Then come back and show us how....

8:27 AM • Jul 14, 2019



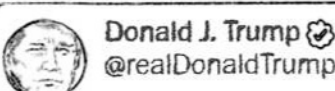
....it is done. These places need your help badly, you can’t leave fast enough. I’m sure that Nancy Pelosi would be very happy to quickly work out free travel arrangements!

8:27 AM • Jul 14, 2019

THE FEARMONGERING INSULT

Sometimes, Fleischer said, Trump “hits himself in his own nose. . . . He’s misused Twitter in sometimes very mean ways that hurt him more than his intended target.” Though he didn’t specifically name anyone in this tweet, it was clear he was referring to “the squad,” four progressive congresswomen of color, three of whom were born in the United States. Zelizer said Trump’s antagonism toward the squad seemed like an attempt to paint the Democratic Party as radical, a tactic he’s continued in his campaign against Joe Biden. But the backlash to this particular language was swift and fierce, even within his own party. “This President has always loved to prey on people’s fears,” one of the squad members, Rep. Ilhan Omar (D-Minn.), recalled via email, later adding: “People like me have always been the targets of his most xenophobic, racist attacks. But we aren’t going anywhere.” One of Trump’s most divisive traits on Twitter is his

willingness to hurl insults — often offensive, sometimes racist and misogynistic — at political opponents, dating back to his belligerence against Hillary Clinton and his Republican primary opponents. “The attacks I get now, in the Trump era, are very different than the attacks I got in the pre-Trump era,” said Powers. “It’s a consistent stream of misogyny. . . . It seems to be a real tactic.” “He was really working to tap into some of the stereotypes and ideas that people already have about women of color, seeing them as angry, loud, disruptive, un-American, and undeserving of this country’s resources and attention,” said Sherri Williams, a professor of race, media and communication at American University. More broadly through these tweets, and those criticizing other prominent politicians of color such as the late congressmen John Lewis and Elijah E. Cummings, Williams said, Trump is attempting to stoke “the fears that some White people have while we see the country become more Brown and Black every day.”



Thank you to the great people of The Villages. The Radical Left Do Nothing Democrats will Fall in the Fall. Corrupt Joe is shot. See you soon!!!

Fifty Shades of Whey @davenewworld_2 • 19h

Seniors from The Villages in Florida protesting against each other: Show this thread

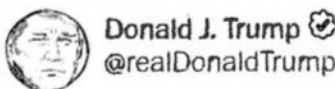


7:39 AM • Jun 28, 2020

THE RACIST RETWEET

The golf cart in the video bears two signs: a blue one reading “Trump 2020” and a red one reading “America First.” Several more carts follow. At a glance, it looks like an innocuous parade of Trump supporters. Six seconds in, though, the first driver holds up his fist and through a mustachioed mouth yells: “White power! White power!” That is no longer shocking in 2020 America. What is shocking is that the president retweeted it. He soon removed the tweet, and “a White House spokesman said Trump had not heard the racist language when he sent” it, as The Post reported. Trump later said in an interview that “it’s the retweets” that get him “in trouble.”

Many have suggested that the president uses retweets strategically, as a way of sharing content while distancing himself from it — in this case, to endorse white nationalism while retaining plausible deniability. But most of the experts The Post consulted think his tweets typically aren’t an attempt at 4-D chess. Former Obama speechwriter David Litt, recalling his time working in the administration, said that “political journalists tend to overestimate how strategic everyone is being anyway, even pre-Trump.” Administrations spend as much, if not more, of their time responding to events rather than planning them. “No one is playing chess. Everyone is playing Whack-a-Mole.”



Tonight, @FLOTUS and I tested positive for COVID-19. We will begin our quarantine and recovery process immediately. We will get through this TOGETHER!

12:54 AM • Oct 2, 2020

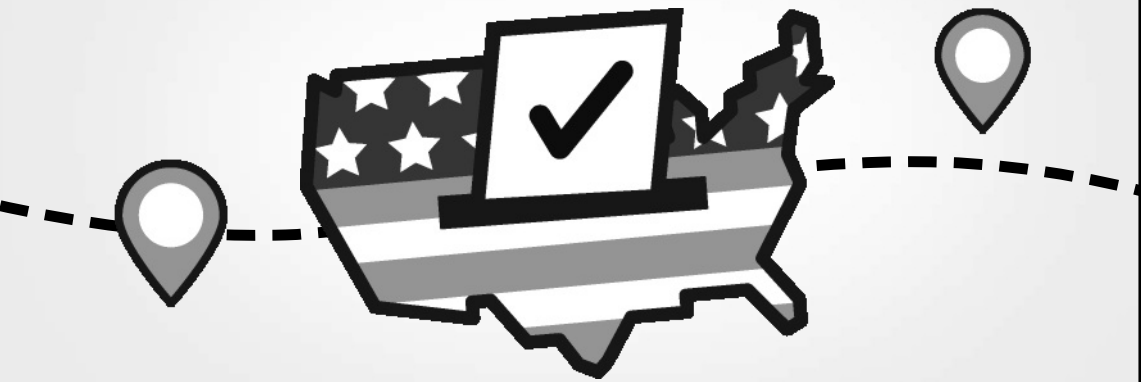
THE OCTOBER SURPRISE

It arrived while many were asleep, nearly 10 months into the pandemic: the tweet that would send the country into a panic as it woke up. It racked up more than 1 million retweets, the most of any during Trump’s presidency. It also logged more than 1.8 million “likes,” another personal record, though it’s hard to know how many were sending best wishes or literally liking that the diagnosis had occurred. Some replies wished Trump a speedy recovery. Many offered 280-character prayers. One man drew a glowing portrait. Others criticized his

administration’s response to the pandemic — or expressed utter fury, tweeting things one can’t imagine being said to the president of the United States. As reporters struggled to trace his health status and the disease’s spread through the White House, the tweet offered one vital piece of data: a time-stamp, the irrefutable constant. Trump was cleared to leave Walter Reed National Military Medical Center on Oct. 5. He sent the news in a tweet. travis.andrews@washpost.com

ILLUSTRATIONS BY NICOLE RIFKIN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

THE TRAILER:
On the road to 2020



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Martin-Green on Star Trek’s ‘powerful presence of change’

MARTIN-GREEN FROM C1

pandemic). Martin-Green describes 2020 as a “doozy” but says that, despite all its difficulties, it will always be highlighted by the birth of her daughter.

This year’s racial reckoning in America has weighed heavily on Martin-Green, an Alabama native, who says she is keenly aware of the “new” and in some cases “old” world that awaits her Black children.

“Being Black in America, but also being raised in the South — where racism is quite in your face, it’s not so subtle down there — I feel like this is a time of exposure and a time of enlightenment,” Martin-Green said.

“It’s almost as if the walls of the country are being broken into and you can see mold in the foundation of the home,” she added. “I think about raising my children in this [country] ... where the system wasn’t designed for them to succeed. ... My husband and I have thought a lot about how we instill in them a sense of worth and a sense of value that goes beyond this physical realm. They need to know something is much bigger than them and that bigger something, which of course we believe is God, is within them.”

Martin-Green is among the many voices of a new generation of Black entertainers and athletes who are vocal in their support of the Black Lives Matter movement in 2020. She’s tweeted about justice for Breonna Taylor. On her Instagram page, there are paintings of George Floyd. She’s mindful of those who came before her with celebrity status who might not have spoken out for fear of losing what they had worked so hard to gain. But silence has never been an option for her, she said. Neither is worrying about possible consequences for giving a voice to something she believes in.

“There’s always risk in speaking the truth,” Martin-Green said. “I have certainly been emboldened by all the [Black] voices that have risen in recent years. There has certainly been improvement. As someone who has deep faith, I have to maintain a balance where I celebrate what has come but have a healthy dissatisfaction for what hasn’t come yet. I ultimately believe that God is in control. So I have to look at what’s going on around me and believe that it’s happening for a reason. And I have to



DALIA NABER/CBS

Michelle Yeoh, left, as Captain Philippa Georgiou and Sonequa Martin-Green as First Officer Michael Burnham in “Star Trek: Discovery.”

“I actually do believe that . . . Star Trek is in a post-racial world. I’m so grateful to be a part of something that shows you the solution because everywhere you look, you see the problem.”

Sonequa Martin-Green, on the franchise’s diversity

hope for a better future.”

On “Star Trek,” Martin-Green stars in a depiction of that better future. She is the first Black woman to be the lead in a “Star Trek” series. Even going back to its first television series in the ’60s, “Star Trek” has been ahead of the curve in terms of diversity and inclusiveness and has always given the appearance that the human race of Earth became a post-racial society when space-ships started to boldly go where no man had gone before.

To be an actress in a sci-fi world that promotes such uncharted equality and then leave a set to come back to the current reality is quite the emotional experience for Martin-Green.

“I actually do believe that the

story of Star Trek is in a post-racial world. I’m so grateful to be a part of something that shows you the solution because everywhere you look, you see the problem,” she said. “It’s so important for people to see a world like this. A lot of people need to see to believe. A lot of people need to see an example before they can wrap their minds around bringing it forth in their own lives.”

Martin-Green says she is grateful for Burnham’s evolution. In her Season 1 introduction in 2017, the character, despite being human, carried such a Vulcan presence that her ears not being pointy almost seemed like an error. Her character is the step-sister of fan favorite Spock (played by Ethan Peck) and was

raised by his Vulcan father and human mother. Now in Season 3, having time-traveled hundreds of years into the future and separated from her crew, Burnham is the most human she’s ever been. Gone is the stone-faced, emotionless, Vulcan-like perfectionist, and in her place is someone who smiles, laughs and is accepting of her own humanity.

“One of the things I love the most about this show and the writing is the powerful presence of change,” Martin-Green said. “It’s a tenet of great storytelling. I have been able to change quite drastically season to season, and I so deeply appreciate that.”

On the lighter side of becoming a star that keeps burning brighter, Martin-Green will also

be changing platforms, from streaming to the big screen. She’s starring alongside four-time NBA champion LeBron James in “Space Jam 2,” the sequel to the original 1996 film that starred Michael Jordan in the Looney Tunes universe. The film is expected to be released in the summer.

“I am very much in the generation where that movie was a big deal,” Martin-Green said. “I think people are going to love it. I do think the way they made it relevant to today was brilliant. I had so much fun. ‘Bron is great. I think we were all smiling ear to ear just thinking about what we were doing and happy that we were all there together doing it.”

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In ‘The Searcher,’ a loner uncovers sinister secrets in the Irish countryside

BOOK WORLD FROM C1

Chicago Police Department. With no ties to bind him, Cal has acted on his dream and bought a tumbledown Irish cottage advertised on the Internet. It’s so remote, he can blast his favorite Johnny Cash tunes as he spackles and paints, and only the sheep might complain. If the condition of the cottage was somewhat misleading, other aspects of Cal’s new surroundings delight him. “The air is rich as fruitcake, like you should do more with it than just breathe it; bite off a big mouthful, maybe, or rub handfuls of it over your face.”

But, as the mists of autumn close in, Cal realizes that he’s not as alone as he thought. The back of his neck — “trained over twenty-five years in the Chicago PD” — registers a watcher, someone who’s been creeping around the cottage and disturbing the nesting rooks. When Cal corners the voyeur, he turns out to be a wayward adolescent named Trey Reddy, who lives on a nearby mountain with his single mother

and siblings. Before long, Trey is coming around regularly to help Cal and to learn carpentry. One thing Trey doesn’t need to learn is that Cal is an ex-cop. (Everyone in the nearest village has sussed out by Celtic telepathy that the American-who-bought-the-cottage is an ex-cop.) Eventually, Trey confesses the real reason he’s been hanging around: He wants Cal to find out what happened to his beloved 19-year-old brother, Brendan, who vanished from the family cottage months ago. The local police have been useless, prejudiced, as they are, against the entire Reddy family as a pack of lazy troublemakers. So it is that Cal, despite his reluctance, gets drawn into the case — as we readers know he will — because that’s what makes these quiet men who preside over Westerns and detective novels the flawed heroes they are. In the process of searching for Brendan, Cal ferrets out a bog’s worth of secrets and sins festering beneath this quaint patch of the Auld Sod.

To even disclose this much of the plot of “The Searcher” is a



JESSICA RYAN

Author Tana French says her latest stand-alone crime novel is a nod to John Ford’s 1956 masterpiece “The Searchers.”

minor crime, because the great power of this suspense story comes from its slow, measured pacing and the intensifying evil of its atmosphere. One of the most unsettling moments in the novel is an extended scene in which Cal visits the local pub called Seán Óg’s — basically, another isolated cottage in a field — and the men who are gathered there press shot after shot of the locally crafted “poteen” on him. As a tin whistle plays in the background and the men joke and Cal gets drunker, one part of his brain registers that he’s being subtly “warned off” the investigation into Brendan’s disappearance. And, it’s not only the human residents of the area who are all-too-knowledgeable about Cal’s movements. The very landscape seems to be in collusion with whatever malevolent forces spirited Brendan away. Here’s Cal walking down a lane and ruing his impulsive life choices:

“The morning has turned lavishly beautiful. The autumn sun gives the greens of the fields an impossible, mythic radiance and

transforms the back roads into light-muddled paths where a goblin with a riddle, or a pretty maiden with a basket, could be waiting around every gorse-and-bramble bend. Cal is in no mood to appreciate any of it. He feels like this specific beauty is central to the illusion that lulled him into stupidity, turned him into the peasant gazing slack-jawed at this handful of gold coins till they melt into dead leaves in front of his eyes.”

French’s writing, as that passage illustrates, is eerie and nuanced. Indeed, even though her Dublin Murder Squad series and her other stand-alone mystery, “The Witch Elm,” have been uniformly excellent, this hushed suspense tale about thwarted dreams of escape may be her best yet. Like the John Ford film it pays homage to, “The Searcher” is its own kind of masterpiece.

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Maureen Corrigan, who is the book critic for the NPR program Fresh Air, teaches literature at Georgetown University.

Husband’s driving unnerves wife — and puts everyone on the road in danger

Ask Amy

AMY DICKINSON

Dear Amy: My husband and I have been married for over 30 years. We hardly ever fight, except for when he is driving. I have a fear of riding in a car with him on a busy highway. Whenever we travel together for very long, I am such a wreck, I want to cry.

Is it too much to ask that he just ease up a little bit? What does it hurt to only go 10 miles over the speed limit, instead of his customary 15 mph over?

All I ask is that he widen the gap a little between us and the car in front of us.

Right now, he is pouting and going 10 miles below the speed limit in the right-hand lane and not speaking to me. Honestly, it’s the first time traveling that I feel calm. Am I being unreasonable?

— Anxious Wife

Anxious Wife: Your husband should appreciate that you value your life, his life, and the lives of other drivers and passengers.

The National Highway Traffic Safety Administration notes that there are about 1.7 million rear-end collisions on U.S. roadways each year. About 1,700 people die in those collisions and another 500,000 are hurt.

A very helpful article I read on Edmunds.com (the car-rating site) breaks down how dangerous tailgating is: “A vehicle traveling at 60 mph covers 88 feet per second. But stopping that vehicle takes over 4.5 seconds and covers a distance of 271 feet. Why? Because there’s more involved in braking than the actual time your brakes are applied to the wheels (called ‘effective braking’). In

particular, ‘perception time’ and ‘reaction time’ add considerable distance to stopping your car.

“When you combine perception and reaction time, a full 132 feet will pass before your car even begins to slow down from 60 mph. So, from the time you perceive a braking situation until the time your car comes to a complete stop, a total of 4.6 seconds elapses. During that time your car travels — it bears repeating — a total of more than 270 feet. That’s almost the length of a football field. Of course, the faster you go, the more time and distance it takes to stop.”

Wet or icy roads will add to the risk of tailgating. In addition to the danger to you, tailgating is annoying and unnerving to the vehicle in front of you.

I can only hope that your question will inspire readers to

reconsider their own driving. Drivers — please — leave at least three seconds between your car and the vehicle in front of you.

Dear Amy: I have two sisters. My sister “April” is 60 years old. She chooses not to work (her husband has a job).

They asked my 87-year-old mother for money to send their son to graduate school (the son does not have a job, either).

My other sister and I told April “no.” I (we) feel that it is not appropriate for our sister to ask my 87-year-old mother to hand her money. What do you think?

— Upset

Upset: In essence, I agree with you. But I need to remind you that anyone can ask anyone for anything. However, your mother can (and perhaps should) say a

firm “no.”

The key for all of you is to make sure your mother is of sound mind and is financially in good shape, and that your sister, husband and son are not manipulating or pressuring her.

Graduate school can be expensive, and if giving this money would put your mother in a precarious financial position, you should do everything possible to protect her — and her assets.

Dear Amy: Responding to the people wrestling with the issue of being poor housekeepers, when my husband and I were young, we were very messy. We didn’t really see it, ourselves. Family were undoubtedly talking about us behind our backs.

Eventually, my aunt found something to say that we could hear. She said that we should

spend our money as follows: A roof over our heads, food on the table, and third — a housekeeper. This we could hear.

We didn’t feel judged for being messy, just not doing something about it.

Over 30 years later, we have a very clean house!

— Clean and Happy

Clean and Happy: Your aunt’s opinion, expressed in a neutral and straightforward way, meant that you could really hear her without becoming defensive.

Amy’s column appears seven days a week at washingtonpost.com/advice. Write to askamy@amydickinson.com or Amy Dickinson, P.O. Box 194, Freeville, N.Y. 13068. You can also follow her @askingamy.

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TELEVISION

TV HIGHLIGHTS



PER ARNESEN/ACORN TV

Darkness: Those Who Kill (Acorn TV) Months after a girl is kidnapped from a Copenhagen suburb, investigator Jan Michelsen (Kenneth M. Christensen) realizes the case bears similarity to another abduction.

Whose Line Is It Anyway?

(CW at 8) Guest comic Charles Esten.

Penn & Teller: Fool Us (CW at 9) Featured magicians include Anna Ferris Simpson, Pierre Ulric, Garrett Thomas and Francis Menotti.

Dancing with the Stars (ABC at 8) Eleven celebrity and pro-dancer couples compete.

The Family Chantel (TLC at 9) Chantel's suspicions about Royal's relationship with Angenette grow after talking to Winter and River.

Halloween Baking Championship (Food Network at 9) The five remaining bakers must create impressive costume cakes for a spot in the finale.

Filthy Rich (Fox at 9:15) Reverend Paul threatens Margaret, leading her to turn to unlikely allies for help.

We Are Who We Are (HBO at 10) Richard uses a father-daughter hunting trip to get inside Caitlin's head.

Soulmates (AMC at 10) Adam and Libby's happy but unconventional marriage is disrupted when Libby's test results come through.

Emergency Call (ABC at 10) An erratic driver with a handgun goes on a six-hour crime rampage.

Dr. 90210 (E! at 10) Dr. Q takes on a risky two-part surgery on a man who lost a massive amount of weight.

SPECIAL

Independent Lens: Feels Good Man (PBS at 10) Follow artist Matt Furie, creator of the comic character Pepe the Frog, as he begins an uphill battle to take back his famed cartoon image from those who use it for their own purposes.

RETURNING

The Voice (NBC at 8) Season 19.

Unsolved Mysteries (Netflix) Season 2.

LATE NIGHT

Tonight Show/Fallon (NBC at 11:34) Gwen Stefani, Swizz Beatz, Timbaland, Bebe Rexha featuring Doja Cat.

Late Show/Colbert (CBS at 11:35) Joy Reid, Yahya Abdul-Mateen II.

Jimmy Kimmel Live (ABC at 11:35) Sacha Baron Cohen, Emma Roberts, Ozuna.

Late Night/Meyers (NBC at 12:37) Sen. Amy Klobuchar (D-Minn.), Ego Nwodim, Todd Sucherman.

— Nina Zafar

More at [washingtonpost.com/entertainment/tv](https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/tv)

BROADCAST CHANNELS										
10/19/20	7:00	7:30	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30	10:00	10:30	11:00	11:30
4.1 WRC (NBC)	• News	• Hollywood	• The Voice				(10:01) • Weakest Link		News	• J. Fallon
4.2 WRC (IND)	The Munsters	The Munsters	Frasier	Frasier	Roseanne	Roseanne	Roseanne	Roseanne	The Nanny	The Nanny
5.1 WTTG (Fox)	• NFL Football : Chiefs at Bills		(8:15) • L.A.'s Finest		(9:15) • Filthy Rich		Fox 5 News at 10		News	The Final
7.1 WJLA (ABC)	• Wheel	• J'pardy!	• Dancing with the Stars (Live)				• Emergency Call		News	• J. Kimmel
9.1 WUSA (CBS)	Q&A	• ET	• Big Brother		• One Day at a	• One Day at a	• Manhunt-Game		9 News	• Colbert
14.1 WFDC (UNI)	La Rosa de Guadalupe	Te doy la vida			Amor eterno		Como tú no hay dos		Noticias	• Noticiero
20.1 WDCA (MNTV)	• Family Feud	• Family Feud	Fox 5 News	• FamFeud	Fox 5 News	Creek	Big Bang	Big Bang	• Law & Order: SVU	
22.1 WMPT (PBS)	Connect.	Collectibles	Antiques Roadshow	Antiques Roadshow	American Experience		• Tell Me More With Kelly		• Amanpour-CO	
26.1 WETA (PBS)	• PBS NewsHour		Antiques Roadshow		• Tell Me More With Kelly		• Independent Lens			Amanpour
32.1 WHUT (PBS)	DW News	• MotorWk	American Experience				Democracy Now!		World News	Kamla Show
50.1 WDCW (CW)	• black-ish	• black-ish	• Whose?	• Whose Line	• Penn & Teller: Fool Us		• Seinfeld	• Seinfeld	Two Men	Two Men
66.1 WPXW (ION)	NCIS: Los Angeles		NCIS: Los Angeles		NCIS: Los Angeles		NCIS: Los Angeles		NCIS: Los Angeles	

CABLE CHANNELS										
A&E	The First 48		The First 48		The First 48		(10:01) The First 48		(11:04) The First 48	
AMC	Halloween: Resurrection ★		Movie: Halloween H20: 20 Years Later ★★ (1998)				Soulmates		(11:01) Soulmates	
Animal Planet	The Last Alaskans		Homestead Rescue: Survival Shelter				Homestead Rescue-Ranch		Building Off the Grid	
BET	Ruff Ryders: Chronicles		Ruff Ryders: Chronicles		Movie: Just Wright ★★ (2010)					
Bravo	Below Deck Mediterranean		Below Deck Mediterranean		Below Deck Mediterranean		Watch What		Below Deck	
Cartoon Network	Craig	• Victor	Gumball	Gumball	Burgers	Burgers	Amer. Dad	Amer. Dad	Family Guy	Family Guy
CNN	Erin Burnett OutFront		Anderson Cooper 360		Cuomo Prime Time		CNN Tonight		CNN Tonight	
Comedy Central	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office	The Office
Discovery	Street Outlaws Fastest In		Street Outlaws: Fastest in America				Street Outlaws: Race			
Disney	Raven	Raven	Disney	Raven	Raven	Jessie	Jessie	Jessie	Sydney-Max	Sydney-Max
E!	Chrisley	Chrisley	Chrisley	Chrisley	Chrisley	Chrisley	Dr. 90210		Nightly	Dr. 90210
ESPN	Monday Night		(8:15) NFL Football : Arizona Cardinals at Dallas Cowboys (Live)						SportsCenter	
ESPN2	SportsCenter (Live)		Boxing: Lomachenko vs. Lopez						UFC 254 Countdown	
Food Network	Halloween Wars		Halloween Baking		Halloween Baking		The Big Bake		Worst Cooks	
Fox News	The Story With Martha		Tucker Carlson Tonight		Hannity (Live)		The Ingraham Angle		Fox News at Night	
Freeform	Addams	Movie: Addams Family Values ★★ (1993)				Movie: The Nightmare Before Christmas			The 700 Club	
FX	(5:30) Movie: Deadpool 2		Movie: Transformers: The Last Knight ★★ (2017)							Transformers
Hallmark	(6:00) Country at Heart		American Humane Hero Dog Awards: 10th				Golden Girls	Golden Girls	Golden Girls	Golden Girls
Hallmark M&M	Murder, She Baked				Murder, She Baked				Murder, She Wrote	
HBO	(6:40) Movie: Just Mercy ★★ (2019)				The Third Day		We Are Who We Are		Lovecraft Country	
HGTV	Love It or List It		Love It or List It		Love It or List It		(10:01) Love It or List It		(11:01) Love It or List It	
History	Pawn Stars		Pawn Stars		Pawn Stars		(10:03) Pawn Stars		(11:05) Pawn Stars	
Lifetime	Rizzoli & Isles		Rizzoli & Isles		Rizzoli & Isles		(10:03) Rizzoli & Isles		(11:03) Rizzoli & Isles	
MASN	Women's College Soccer		Women's College Soccer: Miami at Virginia Tech				ESPNWS	Football	Wolfpack	Carolina
MSNBC	The ReidOut (Live)		All In With Chris Hayes		Rachel Maddow Show		The Last Word		The 11th Hour	
MTV	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.	Ridiculous.
Nat'l Geographic	Auto Masters		Auto Masters		Auto Masters		Auto Masters		Auto Masters	
NBC SportsNet WA	(6:00) 106.7 The Fan's Sports	Junkies					Football	Go Off	Washington Football	
Nickelodeon	Loud House	Loud House	SpongeBob	SpongeBob	Friends	Friends	Friends	Friends	Friends	Friends
PARMT	Movie: The Help ★★ (2011)						(10:15) Movie: The Help ★★ (2011)			
Syfy	Exorcist: The Beginning ★		Movie: Sinister ★★ (2012)				Movie: Insidious: The Last Key ★★ (2018)			
TBS	Family Guy	Family Guy	Family Guy	Family Guy	Family Guy	Family Guy	Amer. Dad	Amer. Dad	Conan	Seinfeld
TCM	(6:00) Any Number Can Play		Movie: The Hound of the Baskervilles		Movie: Horror of Dracula ★★ (1958)				(11:15) Movie: The Mummy	
TLC	The Family Chantel		90 Day Fiancé		The Family Chantel		The Family Chantel		Darcey & Stacey	
TNT	Overboard	Movie: Crazy Rich Asians ★★ (2018)					Movie: Bride Wars ★ (2009)			
Travel	Beyond the Unknown		Mysteries of the Unknown				Doomsday- Ca.		Doomsday Cau.- Camera	
TruTV	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes	Inside Jokes	Movie: Grown Ups ★ (2010)			
TV Land	Andy Griffith	Andy Griffith	Raymond	Everybody Loves Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	Raymond	King	King
TV One	Fam. Matters	Fam. Matters	Fatal Attraction		Fatal Attraction		Fatal Attraction		Fatal Attraction	
USA Network	Chicago P.D.		WWE Monday Night RAW (Live)						Mod Fam	Mod Fam
VH1	(6:30) Movie: Think Like a Man Too ★★ (2014)		Movie: About Last Night ★★ (2014)							Coming
WNCN	Robot	Paid Program	Govt. Matters	ABC 7 News	Sports	ABC News	WJLA 24/7 News at 10		Paid Program	SportsTalk
WGN	Last-Standing		NewsNation (Live)		NewsNation (Live)		NewsNation (Live)		NewsNation	

LEGEND: Bold indicates new or live programs • High Definition Movie Ratings (from TMS) ★★★★★ Excellent ★★★★★ Good ★★ Fair ★ Poor No stars: not rated

Need a break from . . . everything? Take a chance on one of these shows.

TV FROM C1

‘Hi Bye, Mama!’ (Netflix)

Cha Yu-ri (Kim Tae-hee), a woman who has been dead for five years but walks among her loved ones as a ghost, is granted 49 days back on Earth in this popular Korean drama. It sounds like a sci-fi or horror setup, but “Hi Bye, Mama!” is actually a poignant, often funny exploration of loss and grief. Yu-ri re-connects with her family — including her remarried husband and their young daughter, who was born on the day her mother tragically died. The show delivers something even more unexpected through Yu-ri's relationship with her husband's new wife: a nuanced and beautiful portrayal of female friendship and motherhood.

‘Star Trek: Discovery’ (CBS All Access)

The third season of this series, which predates the events of Gene Roddenberry's classic series (but is not *exactly* a prequel if you ask most die-hard Trekkies), premiered Thursday. So, if you haven't yet familiarized yourself with the USS Discovery and its crew — including Michael Burnham (Sonequa Martin-Green), the Black woman and science specialist at the center of the show — now is a good time to get on board.

‘The Haunting of Hill House’ (Netflix)

Before “The Haunting of Bly Manor” premiered recently, there

was this stirring horror about the Crain family and the ways in which its members were affected by the creepy, sprawling mansion they once called home. Watching the first season of Netflix's anthology isn't a prerequisite for “Bly Manor,” but if you're a fan of gothic horror and standout acting (*hellooo*, Timothy Hutton), you won't regret it.

‘The Exorcist’ (Hulu)

This Fox horror-drama managed to stand out — to those who were watching closely, at least — amid a slew of reboots in the fall of 2016, when it premiered as a sequel to the iconic 1973 film. And although Fox sadly canceled the series after the second season, there's a lot to love across its brief run: exhilarating twists, unexpectedly tender story lines and Father Tomas (Alfonso Herrera), a clergyman dreamy enough to give “Fleabag's” Hot Priest a run for his cassock.

‘The Witcher’ (Netflix)

How to best explain this fantasy drama starring Henry Cavill (of “Superman” fame) as a platinum-blond monster slayer for hire? Let's revisit what The Post's Sonia Rao wrote in January when “The Witcher” became *a thing*. “It's been advertised as Netflix's very own ‘Game of Thrones’ but has also proved to be an entertaining fantasy series in its own right,” Rao explained. “That's not to say it's *good*, per se, but that it's so bizarre, it's hard to look away.”



JASPER SAVAGE/AMAZON STUDIOS, PRIME VIDEO

In the comic-inspired show “The Boys” on Prime Video, Antony Starr, left, portrays John/Homelander and Erin Moriarty plays Annie January/Starlight. Expect plenty of gore in this superhero series.

In other words, you owe it to yourself to check it out — if for no other reason than to understand the incredible song “Toss a Coin to Your Witcher.”

‘Greenleaf’ (Netflix)

This drama about the family behind a Southern megachurch

ended its five-season run earlier this year, but it's worth checking out if you missed it the first time around. The series, produced by and occasionally starring Oprah Winfrey, is soapy and over the top and features standout performances by Keith David and Lynn Whitfield, who play the pastor

and first lady of Calvary Fellowship.

‘You’ (Netflix)

Penn Badgley is unnervingly good as Joe Goldberg, a literature-obsessed serial killer who exudes Boy Next Door charm, even as he fixates on his would-

be victims. The first season enjoyed a low-key following after premiering on Lifetime, but the show really got attention after it hit the streaming service. The second season, which premiered exclusively on Netflix, upped the thriller ante by introducing Love Quinn (Victoria Pedretti) — Joe's latest object of desire — and a delicious twist.

‘Frasier’ (CBS All Access)

When it comes to classic sitcoms, you really can't get any better than “Frasier,” the “Cheers” spinoff starring Kelsey Grammer as a Seattle-based psychiatrist. Watch it for the first time, or re-watch it with some tossed salad and scrambled eggs.

‘Raised by Wolves’ (HBO Max)

Sci-fi buffs will probably find a gem in this Ridley Scott-produced drama about a pair of androids tasked with raising a brood of human children following Earth's war-related destruction. Parenting is hard enough in a familiar setting, so just imagine what Mother and Father (Amanda Collin and Abubakar Salim) are up against. But as Post TV critic Hank Stuer even recently noted, the show's real strength is its exploration of its brave new world. The series, he wrote, “gets a chance to devise an entirely new and unfamiliar code of after-Earth ethics and unpredictable responses to love, hate, faith and war.”

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MOVIE DIRECTORY

MARYLAND

AMC Columbia 14

10900 Little Patuxent Parkway

Tim Burton's The Nightmare Before Christmas (PG)

4:30-6:55

The Croods (PG) 4:05

The War with Grandpa (PG)

4:10-7:10

The New Mutants (PG-13)

4:20

2 Hearts (PG-13)

4:15-7:05

Annabelle Comes Home (R)

6:50

Tenet (PG-13)

5:45-6:00

Unhinged (R)

7:05

Honest Thief (PG-13)

7:15

Yellow Rose (PG-13)

4:10-6:55

Tenet: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13)

7:00

Never Again? 7:00

Memories of Murder 7:30

The Kid Detective (R)

4:25-7:20

Honest Thief: The IMAX Experience (PG-13)

4:15

Honest Thief (PG-13)

6:15

AMC Loews St. Charles Town Ctr. 9

11115 Mall Circle

The Croods (PG)

CC: 4:30-7:15

The War with Grandpa (PG)

CC: 4:30-5:30-7:15-8:15

2 Hearts (PG-13)

CC: 4:30-7:15

Annabelle Comes Home (R)

CC: 5:00-8:00

Tenet (PG-13)

CC: 4:00-7:30

Unhinged (R)

CC: 7:30

Honest Thief (PG-13)

CC: 4:15-5:15-7:00-8:00

Yellow Rose (PG-13)

CC: 4:45-7:45

Cinemark Egyptian 24 and XD

7000 Arundel Mills Circle

Ghostbusters (1984) (PG)

5:20

Beetlejuice (PG)

4:00

Tim Burton's The Nightmare Before Christmas (PG)

4:25-7:10

Hocus Pocus (PG)

6:15

Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets (PG)

6:30

The War with Grandpa (PG)

4:20-5:55-7:20

Coco (2017) (PG)

4:50

The New Mutants (PG-13)

5:00-6:35-7:55

Halloween (2018) (R)

4:40-7:45

2 Hearts (PG-13)

4:15-7:15

Yellow Rose (PG-13)

4:10

Honest Thief (PG-13)

6:20

Infidel (R)

7:50

Train to Busan Presents: Peninsula 7:05

Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back 40th Anniversary (PG)

4:30-6:00

My People, My Homeland 5:30

Memories of Murder 7:30

Private Watch Party 5:15-8:00

The Kid Detective (R)

4:45-7:40

Tenet (PG-13)

5:25-7:25

Unhinged (R)

4:05-6:50

Honest Thief (PG-13) XD:

4:35-7:30

Tenet (PG-13) XD:

6:55

Honest Thief (PG-13)

6:20; 4:35-7:30

Hoyt's West Nursery Cinema 14

1591 West Nursery Road

The War with Grandpa (PG)

CC: 4:00-6:40

The New Mutants (PG-13)

CC: 4:50

2 Hearts (PG-13)

CC: 4:10-6:50

Tenet (PG-13)

CC: 4:00-7:00

Unhinged (R)

CC: 5:00-7:30

Honest Thief (PG-13)

CC: 4:20-7:10

Infidel (R)

CC: 7:30

The Kid Detective (R)

CC: 4:40-7:20

2 Hearts (PG-13)

CC: 7:20-6:30-7:30

VIRGINIA

AMC Courthouse Plaza 8

2150 Clarendon Blvd.

Tim Burton's The Nightmare Before Christmas (PG)

CC: 6:00

The War with Grandpa (PG)

CC: 6:45-7:45

2 Hearts (PG-13)

CC: 7:15

Tenet (PG-13)

CC: 7:30

Honest Thief (PG-13)

CC: 7:00-8:00

Yellow Rose (PG-13)

CC: 6:30

AMC Hoffman Center 22

206 Swamp Fox Rd.

Tim Burton's The Nightmare Before Christmas (PG)

CC: 4:30-6:45

The Croods (PG)

CC: 3:30-4:40-6:20

The War with Grandpa (PG)

CC: 3:15-4:15-4:45-5:15-6:10-7:15

The New Mutants (PG-13)

CC: 3:00-5:30-8:00

Cut Throat City (R)

6:50

2 Hearts (PG-13)

CC: 3:20-4:45-6:15-7:40

Annabelle Comes Home (R)

CC: 4:50-7:50

Tenet (PG-13)

CC: 3:00-4:10-6:30-7:30

Unhinged (R)

CC: 3:50-6:40

Honest Thief (PG-13)

CC: 4:00-7:00

Yellow Rose (PG-13)

CC: 3:10

A Mermiad in Paris (Une Sirène à Paris)

8:10-6:10

Infidel (R)

CC: 7:45

Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back 40th Anniversary (PG)

CC: 3:40

The Broken Hearts Gallery (PG-13)

CC: 3:45

Tenet: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13)

CC: 8:00

Never Again? 7:00

Memories of Murder 7:30

The Kid Detective (R)

CC: 4:30-7:25

Honest Thief: The IMAX Experience (PG-13)

CC: 5:00

Honest Thief (PG-13)

CC: 3:15-5:45-6:15-8:00

AMC Potomac Mills 18

2700 Potomac Mills Circle

Tim Burton's The Nightmare Before Christmas (PG)

CC: 6:50

The Croods (PG)

CC: 6:20

The War with Grandpa (PG)

CC: 6:00-7:20-8:00

The New Mutants (PG-13)

CC: 8:20

2 Hearts (PG-13)

CC: 6:10-9:00

Annabelle Comes Home (R)

CC: 7:00

Tenet (PG-13)

CC: 6:40-8:30

Unhinged (R)

CC: 8:40

Honest Thief (PG-13)

CC: 6:05-8:50

Yellow Rose (PG-13)

CC: 7:50

Memories of Murder 7:30

The Kid Detective (R)

CC: 6:00-8:40

Honest Thief: The IMAX Experience (PG-13)

CC: 7:40

Honest Thief (PG-13)

CC: 6:30-7:05-8:15

AMC Shirlington 7

2772 South Randolph St.

Tim Burton's The Nightmare Before Christmas (PG)

CC: 6:00

The War with Grandpa (PG)

CC: 6:15-7:15

Tenet (PG-13)

CC: 7:30

Honest Thief (PG-13)

CC: 7:00-8:00

Infidel (R)

CC: 7:45

AMC Tysons Corner 16

7850a Tysons Corner Center

The Croods (PG)

CC: 4:35

The War with Grandpa (PG)

CC: 4:10-5:10-6:20-7:50-9:00

The New Mutants (PG-13)

CC: 4:40

2 Hearts (PG-13)

CC: 4:15-7:05

Annabelle Comes Home (R)

CC: 5:30-8:25

Tenet (PG-13)

CC: 4:20-7:15

Unhinged (R)

CC: 7:40

Honest Thief (PG-13)

CC: 5:45-8:45

Yellow Rose (PG-13)

CC: 4:30-8:00

My People, My Homeland 4:25-8:10

Tenet: The IMAX 2D Experience (PG-13)

CC: 5:20-8:55

Never Again? 7:00

Memories of Murder 7:30

The Kid Detective (R)

CC: 5:00-7:55

Tim Burton's The Nightmare Before Christmas (PG)

CC: 4:05-6:25-8:50

Honest Thief (PG-13)

CC: 4:00-4:45-6:45-7:45

AMC Worldgate 9

13025 Worldgate Drive

Tim Burton's The Nightmare Before Christmas (PG)

CC: 6:45

The War with Grandpa (PG)

CC: 6:00-7:10

2 Hearts (PG-13)

CC: 7:20

Annabelle Comes Home (R)

CC: 8:00

Tenet (PG-13)

CC: 7:00

Yellow Rose (PG-13)

CC: 7:45

Alamo Drafthouse Cinema - One Loudoun

20575 East Hampton Plaza

The Thing (1982) (R)

7:00

Hocus Pocus (PG)

4:15

Coco (2017) (PG)

4:25

The War with Grandpa (PG)

4:20

The Wolf of Snow Hollow (R)

7:20

Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back 40th Anniversary (PG)

4:20

Honest Thief (PG-13)

7:30

Tenet (PG-13)

6:30

Honest Thief (PG-13)

4:30-7:10

CMX Cinemas Village 14

1600 Village Market Boulevard

Unhinged (R)

4:40

Over the Moon 7:20

Henchmen 4:15

The War with Grandpa (PG)

4:20-5:10-6:10-6:50-7:50

2 Hearts (PG-13)

4:30-5:30-7:10-8:10

Tenet (PG-13)

4:00-7:30

Infidel (R)

5:00-7:55

Honest Thief (PG-13)

4:10-5:20-6:10-8:00

Ava (R)

6:40

The Call (NR)

4:50-7:40

Cinema Arts Theatre

9660 Main St.

Tenet (PG-13)

CC: DVS: 4:10

A Call to Spy (PG-13)

CC: 10:20-1:20-4:20-7:30

Honest Thief (PG-13)

CC: DVS: 10:00-12:10-2:25-4:40-7:00

Yellow Rose (PG-13)

CC: DVS: 9:55-12:15-2:35-4:55-7:40

Kajillionaire (R)

CC: DVS: 10:05-1:00-7:20

On the Rocks (R)

CC: DVS: 10:10-1:10-4:30-7:10

Cinemark Fairfax Corner and XD

11900 Palace Way

Tim Burton's The Nightmare Before Christmas (PG)

4:55-7:35

The War with Grandpa (PG)

4:10-5:15-6:40-7:40

Halloween (2018) (R)

4:30-7:10

2 Hearts (PG-13)

4:20-6:55

Honest Thief (PG-13)

4:00-6:30

Infidel (R)

4:35-7:15

Memories of Murder 7:30

Private Watch Party 4:15-5:30-6:15-7:05

Tenet (PG-13)

6:00

Honest Thief (PG-13) XD:

5:00-7:30

Tenet (PG-13) XD:

4:25-7:45

University Mall Theatre

10659 Braddock Road

Hocus Pocus (PG)

CC: DVS: 4:00-7:00

Coco (2017) (PG)

CC: DVS: 4:30

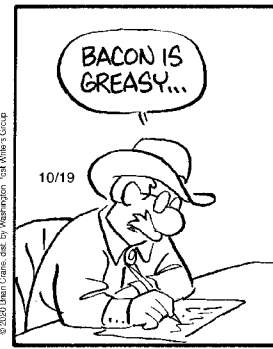
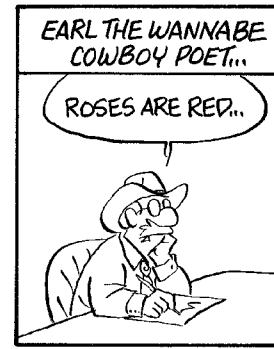
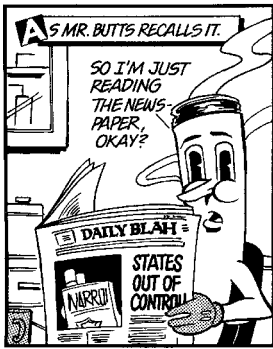
The New Mutants (PG-13)

CC: DVS: 4:15-7:15

The Last Shift (R)

CC: DVS: 7:30

CLASSIC DOONESBURY



GARRY TRUDEAU

PICKLES

BRIAN CRANE

BRIDGE

N-S VULNERABLE

NORTH (D)			
♠ K 6 3			
♥ 7 6 2			
♦ A K Q 4			
♣ 6 4 2			

WEST	EAST
♠ Q J 10 9 4	♠ A 8 7 5 2
♥ 8	♥ Q 4
♦ J 10 8 7	♦ 9 2
♣ K 7 5	♣ J 10 9 8

SOUTH

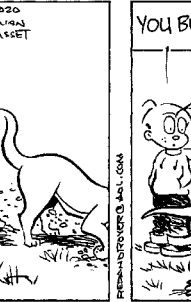
♠ None
♥ A K J 10 9 5 3
♦ 6 5 3
♣ A Q 3

The bidding:

NORTH	EAST	SOUTH	WEST
1♦	Pass	1♥	Pass
1NT	Pass	6♥	All Pass

Opening lead — ♠ Q

RED AND ROVER



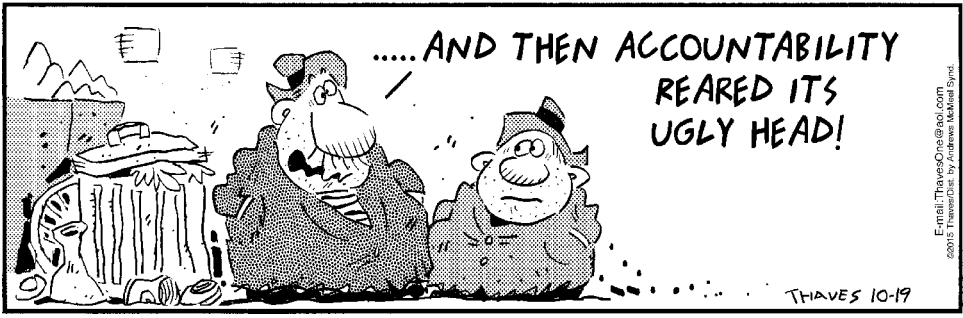
BRIAN BASSET

AGNES



TONY COCHRAN

FRANK AND ERNEST



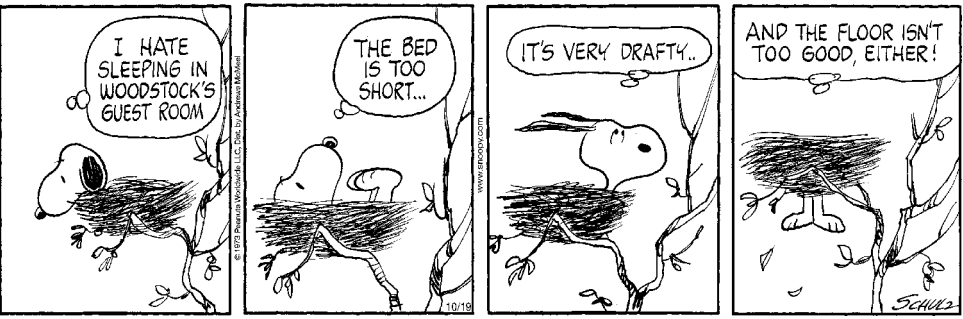
TOM THAVES

WUMO



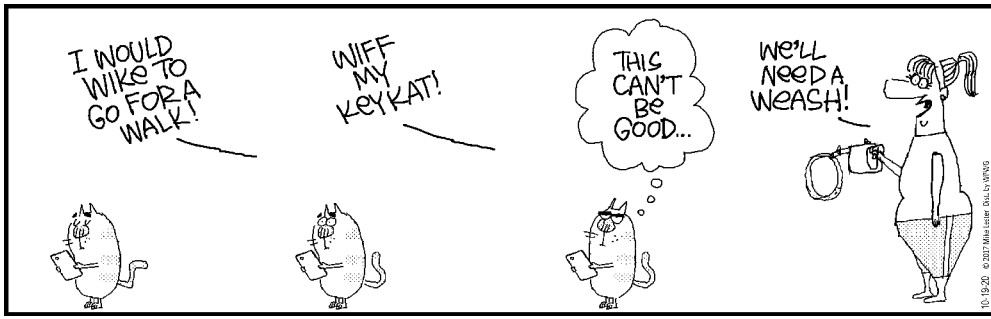
MIKAEL WULFF & ANDERS MORGENTHAUER

CLASSIC PEANUTS



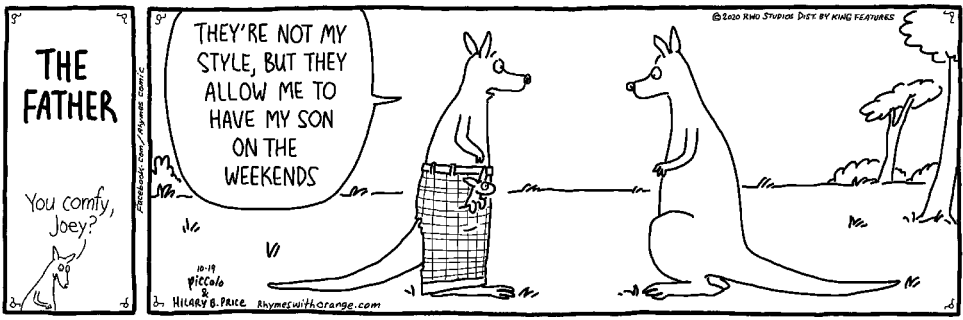
CHARLES SCHULZ

MIKE DU JOUR



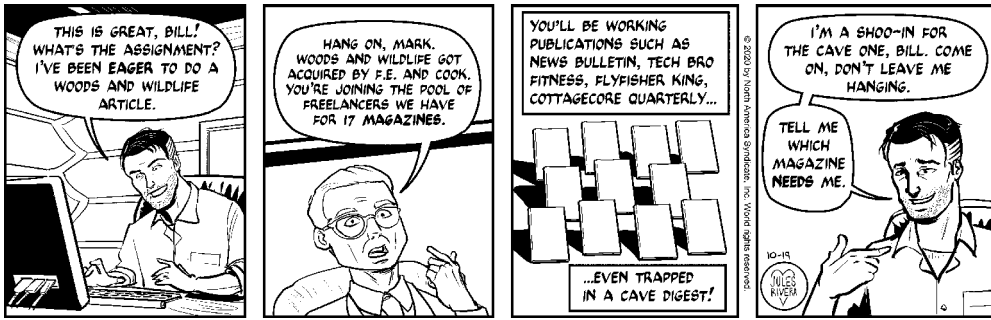
MIKE LESTER

RHYMES WITH ORANGE



HILARY PRICE

MARK TRAIL



JULES RIVERA

LIO



MARK TATULLI

MOTHER GOOSE & GRIMM



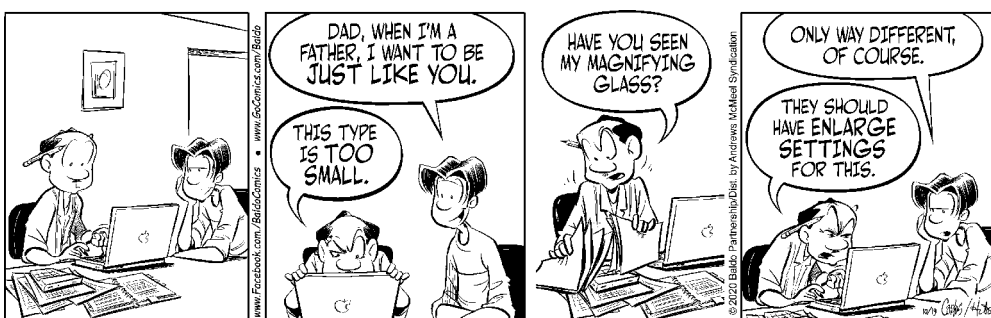
MIKE PETERS

HAGAR THE HORRIBLE



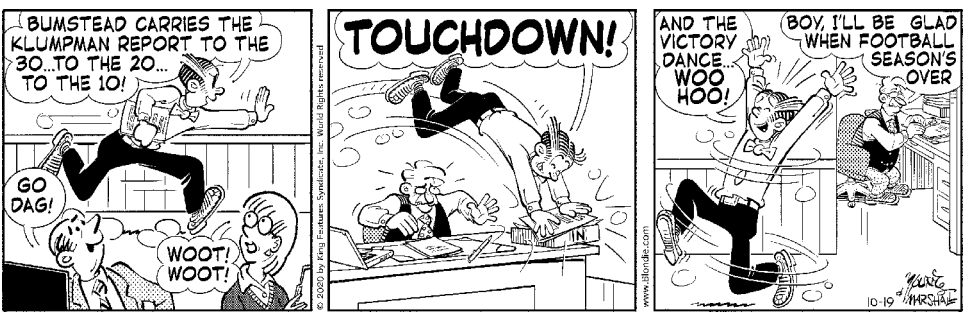
CHRIS BROWNE

BALDO



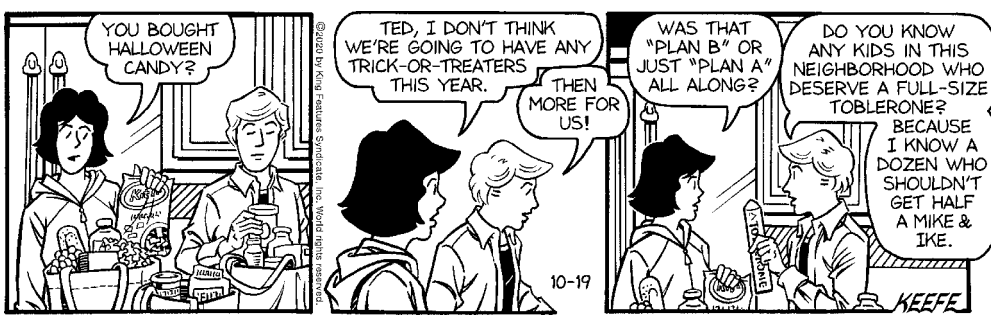
HECTOR CANTU & CARLOS CASTELLANOS

BLONDIE



DEAN YOUNG & JOHN MARSHALL

SALLY FORTH



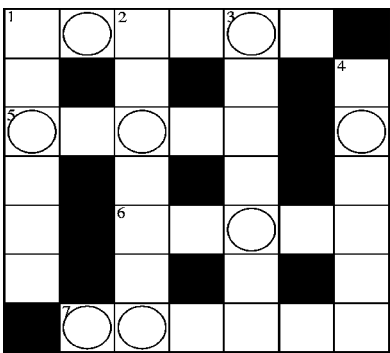
FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & JIM KEEFE

SUDOKU

Complete the grid so that every row, column and 3x3 box contains every digit from 1 to 9 inclusively.

4			8		1	6	5	
6			5	9	4	1		2
5			7	6				4
	1	4					9	6
			1	5	9			
9	7					3	1	
1			8	2				9
8		9	6	1	7			5
	6	2	9		5			1

DIFFICULTY RATING: ★☆☆☆☆



ACROSS

- CLUE
- Feeling friendless
 - Type of painting
 - Submit to
 - Span, mileage

DOWN

- CLUE
- Loose
 - Describe, detail
 - Swingy, rhythmic
 - New, once more

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SCRABBLE G R A M S

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A ₁	A ₁	A ₁	Y ₄	D ₂	F ₄	R ₁	
A ₁	A ₁	U ₁	T ₁	N ₁	V ₄	C ₃	
A ₁	O ₁	O ₁	L ₁	S ₁	P ₃	H ₄	
E ₁	I ₁	O ₁	P ₃	S ₁	C ₃	H ₄	

PAR SCORE 150-160
BEST SCORE 217

FOUR RACK TOTAL
TIME LIMIT: 20 MIN

DIRECTIONS: Make a 2- to 7-letter word from the letters in each row. Add points of each word, using scoring directions at right. Finally, 7-letter words get 50-point bonus. "Blanks" used as any letter have no point value. All the words are in the Official "SCRABBLE" Players Dictionary, 5th Edition. **SOLUTION TOMORROW**

For more information on tournaments and clubs, email NASPA - North American SCRABBLE Players Association info@scrabbleplayers.org. Visit our website - www.scrabbleplayers.org. For puzzle inquiries contact scrgrams@gmail.com

JUMBLE CROSSWORDS by David L. Hoyt

How to play
Complete the crossword puzzle by looking at the clues and unscrambling the answers. When the puzzle is complete, unscramble the circled letters to solve the BONUS.

BONUS

CLUE: This was the last U.S. president to be a member of the Whig Party.

SHERMAN'S LAGOON



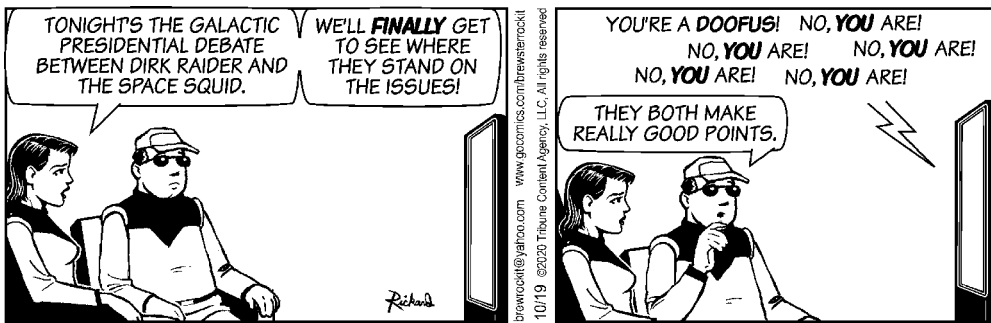
JIM TOOMEY

CURTIS



RAY BILLINGSLEY

BREWSTER ROCKIT: SPACE GUY!



TIM RICKARD

MUTTS

PATRICK McDONNELL

ZITS

JERRY SCOTT & JIM BORGMAN

DILBERT

SCOTT ADAMS

JUDGE PARKER

FRANCESCO MARCIULIANO & MIKE MANLEY

HOROSCOPE

BIRTHDAY | OCTOBER 19
Independent, free-spirited and outspoken, you create controversy this year, albeit very successful. In privacy, you produce your masterpiece. Sensitive to all that is around you, you may change your work space or your living space. If single, you are too rebellious to be pushed into commitment this year, so you fly solo. If attached, you are bound to the hip with your partner. Sagittarius needs space to spread their wings.

ARIES
(MARCH 21-APRIL 19).
An associate plans a surprise journey. It's a good day to make decisions. Your mind will be especially sharp and clear, motivating you to initiate a variety of projects that add dimension to your life.

TAURUS
(APRIL 20-MAY 20).
Today finds someone talking about new financial endeavors. This may impact your personal security. "Creatures of habit" is a term befitting those closest to you. Allow them to learn from the past and prepare to move forward.

GEMINI
(MAY 21-JUNE 20).
A new commitment – business or personal – is formed. Be observant. For better or worse, someone is not exactly as they first seem. You'll be guided by heightened intuition. Devote time to projecting your best image at work.

CANCER
(JUNE 21-JULY 22).
Today your body will communicate which adjustments in lifestyle are needed to enhance strength. There is much you would like to learn and understand. Curb tendencies to overeat or indulge in foods that are too rich or spicy.

LEO
(JULY 23-AUG. 22).
There has been great evolution coupled with life-changing experiences as you've followed the quest for the perfect romance. Now opportunities for a lasting love with potential for growth abound.

VIRGO
(AUG. 23-SEPT. 22).
Today creates a stir in your family and home sector. It's a good time to do some space clearing, repainting or house cleaning. Focus on problem-solving rather than expressing anger.

LIBRA
(SEPT. 23-OCT. 22).
Journeys related to work or education can be rewarding, and today brings a solution to transportation dilemmas. A bond with a neighbor or sibling strengthens. Your happy thoughts act as a magnet to draw support from others.

SCORPIO
(OCT. 23-NOV. 21).
Serious Saturn creates a reality check today. Live within your means; be patient if you long for items that are costly. Be flexible and receptive to changes. It's a good day to restructure financial strategies.

SAGITTARIUS
(NOV. 22-DEC. 21).
You're a cheerful seeker of enlightenment and experience. Keep competition upbeat and good-humored today. Counteract the intensity of others with a little levity. A new connection and bright plans for the future exhilarate you.

CAPRICORN
(DEC. 22-JAN. 19).
You will cherish some privacy today. Revel in your solitude and begin a journal. Answers brought by self-reflection and dreams are preferable to the guidance offered by others. This process brings a new sense of identity.

AQUARIUS
(JAN. 20-FEB. 18).
Today favors intense activity within groups and organizations. Your social and romantic prospects will blossom. Ambitious people become worthwhile models. It is a perfect time to pursue your creative work.

PISCES
(FEB. 19-MARCH 20).
Career matters reach important turning points. Explore options; look within to discover what direction you truly want to take. Wait if you are considering a job change. It's just not the time now.

— Madalyn Aslan
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FRAZZ

JEF MALLET

CANDORVILLE

DARRIN BELL

GARFIELD

JIM DAVIS

BARNEY AND CLYDE

WEINGARTENS & CLARK

DUSTIN

STEVE KELLEY & JEFF PARKER

THE AMAZING SPIDER-MAN

STAN LEE & ALEX SAVIUK

PRICKLY CITY

SCOTT STANTIS

LOOSE PARTS

DAVE BLAZEK

NON SEQUITUR

WILEY

BABY BLUES

RICK KIRKMAN & JERRY SCOTT

BIG NATE

LINCOLN PEIRCE

ON THE FASTTRACK

BILL HOLBROOK

BEETLE BAILEY

MORT, BRIAN & GREG WALKER

PEARLS BEFORE SWINE

STEPHAN PASTIS

PREVIOUS SUDOKU SOLUTION

2	9	7	3	6	5	8	4	1
1	5	6	8	7	4	3	9	2
3	8	4	1	9	2	5	6	7
5	6	1	9	4	8	7	2	3
8	2	3	6	5	7	4	1	9
7	4	9	2	1	3	6	8	5
6	7	8	5	2	1	9	3	4
4	3	2	7	8	9	1	5	6
9	1	5	4	3	6	2	7	8

PREVIOUS SCRABBLEGRAMS SOLUTION

F	A	N	C	I	L	Y
L	I	Q	U	O	R	
I	N	F	L	E	C	T
C	A	R	I	F	U	L

RACK 1 = 65
RACK 2 = 30
RACK 3 = 70
RACK 4 = 62
PAR SCORE 170-180
TOTAL 227

SPEED BUMP

DAVE COVERLY

DENNIS THE MENACE

H. KETCHAM

FAMILY CIRCUS

BIL KEANE

REPLY ALL LITE

DONNA A. LEWIS

KIDSPOST

CHIP SAYS

Lucy Hobbs Taylor was the first American woman to earn a degree in dentistry. After being refused admission by many schools based on her gender, she was accepted at Ohio College of Dental Surgery and graduated in 1866.



TODAY

Clouds may create partly sunny conditions, but high temperatures could reach the mid-70s.

ILLUSTRATION BY CAILI STANLEY, 8, ARLINGTON



KIDSPOST.COM

Our newest photo gallery features prizewinning giant pumpkins from around the world.

BIRTHDAYS OF THE WEEK



Niebauer



Schwartzberg



Sasscer



Ferrer-Robinson



Bohlen



Sammis



Procida

MONDAY, OCTOBER 19

Rockville's **Amory Niebauer** (2012).
McLean's **Robert Schwartzberg** (2007).
Civil rights leader James Bevel (1936).
Abolitionist John Woolman (1720).

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 20

Laurel's **Emma Sasscer** (2012).
Senator Kamala Harris (1964).
Inventor Tracy Hall (1919).
Jazz pioneer Jelly Roll Morton (1890).

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 21

Washington's **Jagger Ferrer-Robinson** (2011).
Actress Carrie Fisher (1956).
Salsa musician Celia Cruz (1925).
Chemist Alfred Nobel (1833).

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 22

Arlington's **Lydia Bohlen** (2013).
Arlington's **Harriet Sammis** (2007).
Artist Henriette Wyeth (1907).
Author Doris Lessing (1919).

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 23

Arlington's **Eliana Procida** (2009).
Director Ang Lee (1954).
TV host Johnny Carson (1925).
Explorer Ludwig Leichhardt (1813).

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 24

Rapper Drake (1986).
Soccer player Wayne Rooney (1985).
Comic artist Bob Kane (1915).
Lawyer Belva Ann Lockwood (1830).

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 25

The Nationals' **Juan Soto** (1998).
Singer Katy Perry (1984).
Artist Pablo Picasso (1881).
Automobile pioneer John Dodge (1864).

Birthday announcements are for ages 6 to 13 and are printed on a **first-come, first-served basis**. They do not appear online. A parent or legal guardian must give permission. **We need photos at least three weeks ahead of publication.** We need names (if photos are not desired) at least a week before publication. Fill out the online form at wapo.st/kidspostbirthdays. We are temporarily unable to accept mailed submissions. If you mailed a submission in March, please contact kidspost@washpost.com.

How braces fix your teeth: Tiny changes to bone structure in face

Ever Wondered?

JASON BITTEL

Do you have braces? You're not alone. More than 3 million kids in the United States are walking around with shiny smiles now, not to mention 1 million adults. But how many of us truly understand what braces are and how they do what they do? I didn't know until I spoke with Christopher Roberts, president of the American Association of Orthodontists.

Roberts said braces can be made out of metal or plastic and incorporate things such as rubber bands, but the best way to think about them is that they are like tiny handles for each tooth.

"Fifty years ago, we would put a little ring around the tooth and then put the metal handle right on that ring," he said. "But now we can glue that handle, what we call a bracket, right to your tooth."

Then by connecting each of these brackets with a wire, an orthodontist can apply small amounts of pressure to each tooth to coax it into the right position. But how that works, exactly, is a whole other story.

When you stare in the mirror to brush your teeth, you can probably see that your teeth emerge from a soft, pink material known as gums. But that's not what holds them in place.

"Actually, teeth are held in place by bone," Roberts said. "And there's a little ligament, or a fiber, that holds those teeth into the bone."

The pressure created by braces pushes on that tooth, gently stretching the fibers on one side



ISTOCK PHOTOS



Teeth are held in place by bone, not the gums. Pressure by braces on the bone can slowly shift the position of a tooth to a more desirable spot.

slow process, which is why braces usually require 1½ to 2 years to properly line up your teeth, and possibly solve problems with chewing or speaking. Part of how long it takes depends on you, too.

For instance, Roberts said that it really helps when kids follow the instructions given by their orthodontist. Wearing your rubber bands, avoiding sticky, chewy, hard or crunchy foods, and keeping your teeth clean help things along and prevent delays.

Careful brushing not only helps stop tooth decay but can also stop you from grossing out your family. They don't want to see bits of last night's pizza plastered to your pearly whites.

kidspost@washpost.com

and squishing them down on the other. But it also changes the structure of your bones.

"So what happens is little cells in your body remove bone on the one

side where the pressure is, and where the tension is on the other side, it actually builds up bone," said Roberts.

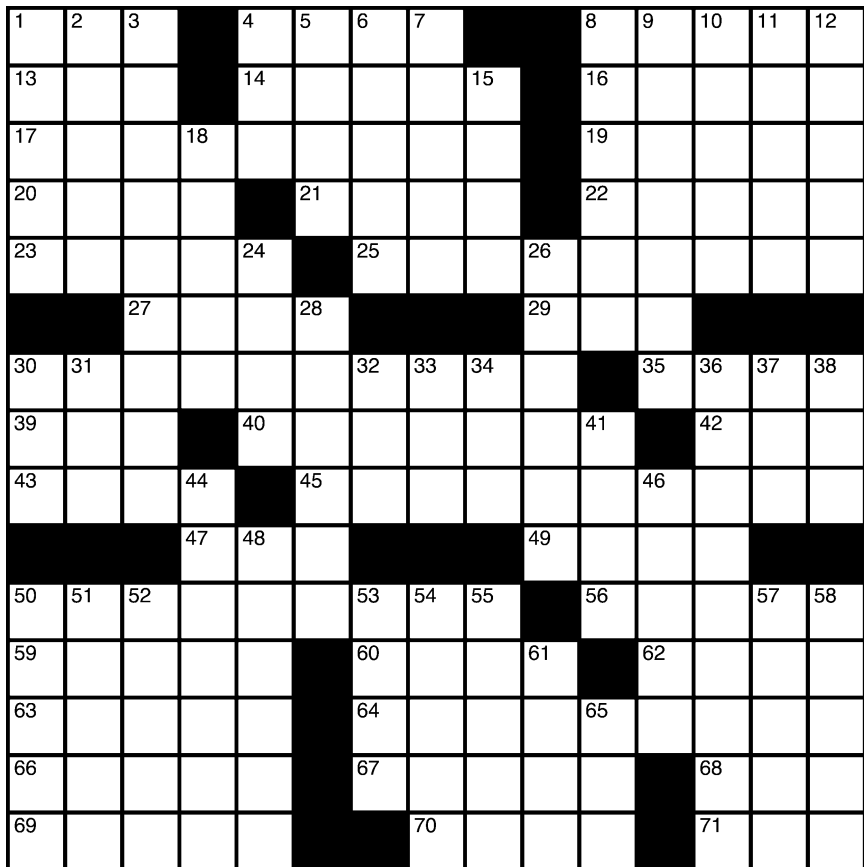
Of course, building bones is a

LA TIMES CROSSWORD

By Craig Stowe

ACROSS

- "I get it!"
- Swamp, briefly
- Trails through the woods
- Zero, in soccer
- "Star Trek" communications officer
- Crosswise, shipwise
- *Chooses not to partake in
- Cocoon occupant
- Six-sided state
- What the big hand indicates
- Part of PTA: Abbr.
- North or South Asian country
- *Random quality-control measure
- Actress Behrs of "2 Broke Girls"
- Wide shoe size
- *Often herky-jerky animation technique
- DNA test kit item
- Scarecrow material
- Stinker
- Hurry, to Shakespeare
- Angry cat's warning
- *Rainbow-end rewards
- Cobbler's punch
- Small stream
- *Lickety-split
- Front-end wheel alignment
- Second half of most musicals
- Kansas city
- Youngest Brontë sister
- Showed again
- Easy-to-remove caps ... or one way to get the starts of the answers to starred clues?
- Pan fry
- Cocktail garnishes
- Boy king



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10/19/20

- Key above Shift
- Roof problem
- UFO crew, they say

DOWN

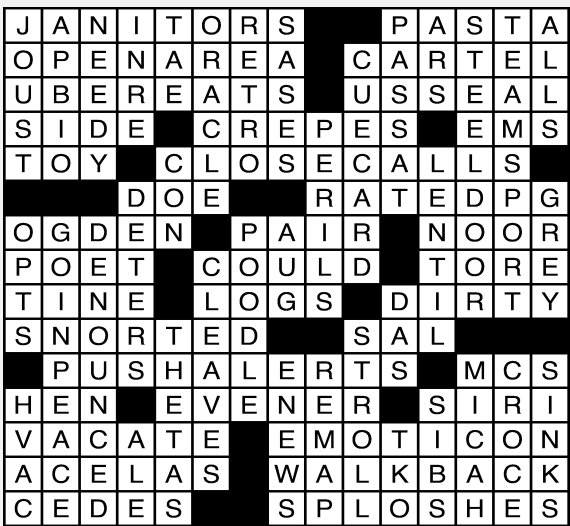
- Aimée of "8 1/2"
- Aware of
- Young acolytes
- Quid pro _
- "Not a chance"
- Parking lot occupants
- Word after study or social
- Royal residence
- Embarrasses
- To the point
- Wreak _ : cause mayhem
- Hit hard
- Curly hairdo
- Animal sheared for wool
- Casino cash dispensers
- Stretching muscle
- Flashy publicity
- "Button it!"
- Mai _ : cocktail
- Confucian path

- Loan pmt. part
- Pigs out (on)
- Musical symbol with no stem
- Feel sick
- Word with room or board
- "Think nothing _"
- Quench

- Be a bad winner
- Crybaby
- Break down, as a sentence
- Arctic or Atlantic
- Walk proudly
- _ bath: therapy treatment

- Sauna wrap, often
- Beethoven's "Für _"
- Contribution to the discussion
- Egg holders
- Whodunit pooch
- Disapproving sound

SATURDAY'S LA TIMES SOLUTION



NICK GALIFIANAKIS FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Frugal friend tries to keep up with a never-ending parade of festivities



Carolyn Hax

Adapted from an online discussion.

Hi, Carolyn: I don't make a lot of money, but I budget down to the penny so I can afford things I want, like travel. I'm starting to become resentful when I have to spend money on other things. Good friends of mine in particular have had weddings, showers, surprise parties, baptisms, etc., with no end in sight. I'm getting tired of buying the appropriate attire for most events, plus provide a side dish in addition to a gift.

The obvious solution is to opt out, but I love these people dearly and want to celebrate with them. I abhor cheapskates and now find myself becoming one. So how do I become less of one?

— Cheapskate?

Cheapskate?: Budget for friends as things you want?

To me *that's* the obvious solution. To see these as experiences, where the gift is your airfare.

You can also get creative on the clothing, gifts and side dishes so they cost you next to nothing. Photos and handmade or handwritten items; plant-

based cooking; and wardrobe-building via thrifting, renting, sewing, repurposing (a la "Pretty in Pink"), arranging swaps with friends ... and don't rule out reusing. One of my closest college friends wore the same dress to every evening event for three, maybe four years, cleaning it so often it changed color, and didn't give a fox except to think it was hilarious. There are ways.

Re: Cheapskate: I'll go out on a limb and guess "Cheapskate" is female — since women seem to bear the brunt of bringing "appropriate" gifts or dishes when men are amazing!!! just for showing up. Here's an idea: Treat the invitation as just that — an invitation. If you don't want to bring a side dish, don't. If you want to wear the same outfit — like a man wearing the same suit to every event — do it.

— Out on a Limb

Out on a Limb: So your idea is for Cheapskate, (presumably) a woman, to act like a man. And it's pretty freaking brilliant.

Re: Cheapskate: I realized I hate bridal showers and baby showers and no longer attend them. They are incredibly boring — the highlight of the party is watching someone open

gifts. Often the "showered" bride/mom is uncomfortable, but if they're delighting in it, that is weirder. And don't get me started on the games ... it is patently unfair that men do not have to suffer these events.

And the money! I love my friends, but I'm tired of getting them a bridal shower gift, bachelorette novelty gift, a wedding gift, a baby shower gift. I hosted my sister's bridal shower but limited the guest list to fit in the living room. It was catered and decorated nicely. Concerned about the number of gifts she was losing out on, my sister guilt-tripped a friend into hosting a SECOND BRIDAL SHOWER potluck. So I had to bring another gift and a dish. The host provided a bowl of Hershey's Kisses.

If I ever get married there will be no bridal shower.

— Last Straw

Last Straw: Wow.

You're right about all of it; you're within your rights to opt out; and your sister is a butt. Pardon me: acting like one.

Write to Carolyn Hax at tellme@washpost.com. Get her column delivered to your inbox each morning at wapo.st/haxpost.

Join the discussion live at noon Fridays at live.washingtonpost.com

Ravens	30	Texans	36	Bengals	27	Falcons	40	Broncos	18	Browns	7	Bears	23	Lions	34	Jets	0	Packers	10	Rams	16	Chiefs	5 p.m.	Cardinals	8:15
Eagles	28	Titans	42	Colts	31	Vikings	23	Patriots	12	Steelers	38	Panthers	16	Jaguars	16	Dolphins	24	Buccaneers	38	49ers	24	Bills	Fox/NFLN	Cowboys	ESPN

Dodgers take drama-filled Game 7 to complete comeback

DODGERS 4, BRAVES 3

Once down 3-1 in NLCS, L.A. makes World Series

BY DAVE SHEININ

ARLINGTON, TEX. — In no other season but this would the scene late Sunday night at Globe Life Field, where the Los Angeles Dodgers celebrated their National League pennant, have made any sense. They gathered jubilantly in their home whites at the center of a baseball diamond in central Texas, with a team from Georgia slouching off the field, inside a stadium filled to quarter-capacity with fans who roared and screamed for them through their masks.

Against all odds, the 2020 baseball season has made it to

the World Series, and it arrived there Sunday night with an epic, sprawling Game 7 in the National League Championship Series that reminded everyone why the sport endured all the tumult of spring and chaos of summer amid a global pandemic:

It was so we might all experience a night such as this, the Dodgers vanquishing the Atlanta Braves, 4-3, in a Game 7 for the ages. The Dodgers will face the Tampa Bay Rays in Game 1 of the World Series on Tuesday night in the same building where, Sunday night, they authored an instant classic.

A game of massive momentum swings and how-did-that-happen moments arrived at Dodgers center fielder Cody Bellinger facing Braves reliever Chris Martin in the bottom of the seventh inning, with two outs, none on and the score tied at 3. On a 3-2 pitch, the eighth of the at-bat, Bellinger crushed a 94-mph sink-



The Dodgers' Cody Bellinger, center, hit a series-winning home run in the seventh inning vs. the Braves.

World Series
Game 1: Rays vs. Dodgers
Tomorrow, 8:09 p.m., Fox

er into the stands in right, about 15 rows deep.

Bellinger dropped his bat exaggeratedly, took six strut-steps toward first, then screamed to his own dugout before commencing his jog around the bases.

Six outs later, the Dodgers had become the 14th team in history to come back from a 3-1 series deficit. They will be the NL's representative for the third time in four seasons, having lost to the Houston Astros in 2017 — a title later tainted by a sign-stealing scandal — and the Boston Red Sox in 2018.

The Dodgers believe this is the best of their eight consecutive division winners — a regular season juggernaut with a .717 winning percentage — but

SEE DODGERS ON D2



RICKY CARIOTI/THE WASHINGTON POST

Comeback tale yields a United triumph

D.C. UNITED 2, FC CINCINNATI 1

Cancer survivor
Odoi-Atsem nets winner

BY STEVEN GOFF

Cancer will always be part of Chris Odoi-Atsem's story. Diagnosed with Hodgkin's lymphoma during his second season as a professional soccer player for D.C. United, the defender was sidelined for more than a year in 2018 and 2019 as he underwent treatment and rehabilitated his weakened body.

The road back was long and difficult, culminating with regular assignments this year. And amid United's terrible campaign, the former DeMatha High and University of Maryland standout reached new heights Sunday night, scoring his first MLS goal over four seasons, a go-ahead strike in the 78th minute as visiting D.C. defeated FC Cincinnati, 2-1.

"People know my story and what I've been through, but I try not to dwell on it too much," said Odoi-Atsem, 25. "I try to live in the present, and right now everything is great."

Making his seventh start of the year, Odoi-Atsem helped United end its winless streak at nine and keep alive the team's faint playoff hopes. United is 3-10-6 with four matches left.

High pressure led to a Cincinnati giveaway. Moses Nyeman, 16, pushed the ball wide to substitute Kevin Paredes, 17, whose 18-yard shot was stopped by diving goalkeeper Bobby Edwards. On the back side, Odoi-Atsem pumped in the rebound.

Entering the night, Odoi-Atsem had produced two shots in his career.

As for putting the goal in perspective, he said: "I'll be able to dwell on it more a little bit later. That's all I want to do is help the team. That's all I ever wanted to do. When I was out, just to be healthy and help the team on the field and get a win, that's everything to me."

SEE UNITED ON D10

D.C. United at Atlanta United
Saturday, 4 p.m., WJLA 24/7 News

Inside: D.C. is stressing diversity during its coaching search. **D10**

PRO FOOTBALL

The Titans stay perfect, the Patriots are far from it, and the Bucs stand out. **D3**

COLLEGE FOOTBALL

This season already has been weird enough. Now here comes the Big Ten. **D8**

Risky business

Rivera's vision is bigger than a failed two-point conversion



Sally Jenkins

He's the one who has to live with the call, not them. The second-guessers can bury their noses in the analytics all they want or make another notation in their "Thinking Man's Guide to Coaching From a Recliner," but the fact is, Ron Rivera's decision to gamble was at least firm, and there was a lot to like in that. Most of the people who will criticize him for it have trouble deciding off a menu. That's why they're watching with a cushion under them.

The hammering on Rivera will commence because at the end of a winnable game, he refused to play it safe, the easiest kind of decision to pick apart. In fact, the calculation to leave the Washington Football Team's offense on the field and go for two against the New York Giants, instead of taking the extra point for a tie and overtime, was defensible. Just one more big play would have punched the entire NFC East in the

SEE JENKINS ON D7

GIANTS 20, WASHINGTON 19: Center Chase Roullier helps up quarterback Kyle Allen after the Washington Football Team's failed two-point attempt in the final minute of Sunday's loss in East Rutherford, N.J. Coach Ron Rivera played for the win rather than settling for overtime, and the result was Washington's fifth consecutive loss and New York's first victory of the season.

A difficult decision?
To hear Ron Rivera tell it, he had little choice but to go for two. **D5**

Takeaways
Kyle Allen showed some fight to get Washington in position to win. **D6**

Dallas at Washington
Sunday, 1 p.m., Fox

Washington goes for win, falls to last place with loss

BY NICKI JHABVALA

EAST RUTHERFORD, N.J. — Benching the quarterback was just the start. As his team began a crucial five-game stretch that could determine the division, Ron Rivera shuffled his offensive line, retooled his secondary and sent a strong message to his linebackers that he wanted more.

To get anywhere, Rivera knew, the Washington Football Team had to get out of New Jersey with a victory over the New York Giants, its NFC East rivals who entered the game without a win.

Washington came close Sunday — but not close enough, falling to the Giants, 20-19, in the final seconds of an up-and-down game that ultimately hinged on a pair of turnovers and a decision by Rivera in the last minute to attempt a two-point conversion that his offense failed to convert.

Quarterback Kyle Allen, having just completed a 22-yard touchdown pass to wide receiver Cam Sims that narrowed New York's lead to one point late in the fourth quarter, scrambled but was unable to

SEE WASHINGTON ON D6

DIGEST



JOE MAHONEY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Phil Mickelson, at left with Retief Goosen's caddie, Jeff Johnson, is the third player to win his first two PGA Tour Champions starts.

GOLF
Mickelson triumphs in Richmond event

Phil Mickelson likes to play aggressively and found the PGA Tour Champions' stop at the Country Club of Virginia in Richmond the perfect place to begin his preparations for the Masters. Mickelson shot a 7-under-par 65 and became the third player — and second this year — to win his first two starts on the tour for players 50 and older. He slammed the door on **Mike Weir** with a back-nine surge Sunday in the Dominion Energy Charity Classic. "It's fun for me to come out here and play well, and this is a good start for me as I try to build a little bit of momentum heading to Augusta in about a month," Mickelson said.

He finished at 17-under 199, one off the event record set by **Miguel Angel Jiménez** last year. "I put a new driver into play this week, trying to get a little more pop, a little more carry. It was a little wayward at times, but it was also effective in allowing me to play this course the way I wanted to, which was aggressively," Mickelson said. Mickelson beat fellow left-hander and second-round leader Weir by three strokes. The fellow rookie closed with a 71.

The winner in late August at Ozarks National in Missouri in his first start on the tour, Mickelson joined **Bruce Fleischer** and **Jim Furyk** as the only players to win in their first two senior events. Fleischer accomplished the feat in 1999, and Furyk did it this year with victories at the Ally Challenge and Pure Insurance Championship. Mickelson, who hasn't won on the PGA Tour since early 2019 at Pebble Beach, plans to return to the PGA Tour next week for the Zozo Championship in California. After a week off, he will play in the Houston Open as his final preparation for the Masters on Nov. 12-15.

Weir three-putted the par-5 18th but hung on to beat **Paul Goydos** (65) by a shot. . . . In his 10th season, in his 233rd tournament, **Jason Kokrak** can finally call himself a PGA Tour winner.

Kokrak, 35, earned every bit of it in the CJ Cup at Shadow Creek in North Las Vegas, Nev. He matched the best round of the tournament with an 8-under 64, winning a duel on the back nine with **Xander Schauffele**, who finished two shots back in second. Kokrak began to pull away with four straight birdies on the front nine, and birdie putts from 20 feet and 18 feet to start the back nine stretched his lead to two shots.

Kokrak all but clinched it when he drilled his drive into the fairway on the par-5 18th, leaving only a short iron to 25 feet. He two-putted for his final birdie.

Russell Henley, who began the final round with a three-shot lead, fell behind when he bogeyed the par-5 seventh and closed with a 70 to tie for third with **Tyrrell Hatton**, who carded a 65.

The CJ Cup moved from South Korea this year because of the novel coronavirus pandemic. . . .

Adrian Otaegui of Spain captured his first stroke-play title on the European Tour after shooting a 9-under 63 in the final round of the Scottish Championship in Fife to win by

four shots. A streak of eight birdies in 11 holes saw Otaegui overhaul third-round leader **Matt Wallace**. Otaegui was 23 under overall for the week. **Aaron Rai** closed with a 66 to finish in third place.

TENNIS
Alexander Zverev defeated **Felix Auger-Aliassime**, 6-3, 6-3, to win the Cologne (Germany) Indoors hard-court tournament. Zverev improved to 12-8 in career finals. Auger-Aliassime, 20, is still waiting for his first title after losing six finals in two seasons, all in straight sets. . . . **Andrey Rublev** joined **Novak Djokovic** as the only men to win four singles titles in the pandemic-shortened season with a 7-6 (7-5), 6-4 victory over **Borna Coric** in the final of the St. Petersburg (Russia) Open. By winning the indoors hard-court event, Rublev will move into the top 10 of the ATP rankings for the first time Monday. . . . **Laslo Djere** of Serbia beat Italian wild card **Marco Cecchinato**, 7-6 (7-3), 7-5, to win the clay-court Sardegna Open in Sardinia, Italy.

CYCLING
Tao Geoghegan Hart sprinted to a victory at the end of the mountainous 15th stage of the Giro d'Italia, and **João Almeida** held on to the overall leader's pink jersey. Geoghegan Hart, a British rider with the Ineos Grenadiers team, was part of a trio of riders to reach the summit together, and he sprinted to edge out Team Sunweb pair **Wilco Kelderman** and **Jai Hindley**. Almeida collapsed in exhaustion after the mountainous 185-kilometer (115-mile) leg from Codroipo to Piancavallo, Italy. The 22-year-old Portuguese finished fourth to stay in the lead but saw his advantage cut to 15 seconds ahead of Kelderman. The Giro has its second rest day Monday before Tuesday's 16th stage, a hilly 229-kilometer (142-mile) route from Udine to San Daniele del Friuli. . . . Dutchman **Mathieu van der Poel** beat Belgian rider **Wout van Aert** in a photo finish to win the Tour of Flanders in Oudenaarde, Belgium, but contender **Julian Alaphilippe** crashed out near the end after hitting a motorbike. Van der Poel and van Aert sprinted to the line with under 200 meters left, and Van der Poel beat his former Cyclo-cross rival by less than half a wheel's length. Norway's **Alexander Kristoff** finished third in the 244-kilometer (151-mile) race.

SKIING
Lucas Braathen clinched his first career win at the season-opening men's World Cup giant slalom in Soelden, Austria. The 20-year-old Norwegian was fifth before posting the second-fastest time in the decisive leg to finish ahead of Swiss duo **Marco Odermatt** and **Gino Caviezel**. Odermatt, the fastest racer in the second run, was five hundredths behind, and Caviezel, who led after the opening run, trailed by 0.46 seconds. **Ted Ligety**, who has won the race four times, was 10th after the first run, but the American's left ski came off in the second run. No spectators were allowed at the race because of the pandemic. — *From news services*

TELEVISION AND RADIO	
NFL	
5 p.m.	Kansas City at Buffalo » WTTG (Ch. 5), WBFF (Ch. 45), NFL Network
8:15 p.m.	Arizona at Dallas » ESPN
SOCCER	
12:30 p.m.	English Premier League: Burnley at West Brom » NBC Sports Network
3 p.m.	English Premier League: Wolverhampton at Leeds » NBC Sports Network
3 p.m.	CAF Confederation Cup, semifinal: Hassania Agadir vs. RS Berkane » beIN Sports
TENNIS	
5 a.m.	WTA: Ostrava Open, early rounds; ATP: European Open and Cologne Championships, early rounds » Tennis Channel
1:30 a.m. (Tuesday)	WTA: Ostrava Open, early rounds; ATP: European Open and Cologne Championships, early rounds » Tennis Channel
SWIMMING	
10 a.m.	International Swimming League » CBS Sports Network

BASEBALL NOTES

Executive Hill is out after 19 seasons with Marlins

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Miami Marlins executive Michael Hill's 19-season tenure with the franchise has ended. Hill was president of baseball operations for the past six years and provided continuity after a 2017 change in ownership, but his contract expired and he will not be back next season, CEO Derek Jeter said Sunday. "I had to approach this as a new negotiation," Jeter said. "We had conversations over the last week or so, and I just felt it would be best for the organization at this particular time to move on without Mike." The Marlins will cast a wide search for a replacement, but potential candidates are unlikely to include vice president of player development and scouting Gary Denbo, who has been instrumental in the franchise turnaround and is expected to remain in his current role.

"We have a lot of smart baseball minds in our organization, and there are smart baseball minds around the game," Jeter said. "We're going to sit down and see what type of person we need in this role." Hill joined the Marlins' front office in 2002, and the next year they won the World Series. But this year's 31-29 finish was their first above .500 since 2009, and they made the playoffs for the first time in 17 years. Hill helped steer the Marlins through a novel coronavirus outbreak that nearly derailed their season. Hill had a hand in the record 13-year, \$325 million contract Giancarlo Stanton signed with the Marlins in 2014. He later was involved in trading Stanton and all-stars Christian Yelich, Marcell Ozuna, Dee Gordon and J.T. Realmuto as Miami rebuilt from the farm system up under Jeter. • **PHILLIES:** Philadelphia pitching coach Bryan Price is retiring from full-time coaching. The 58-year-old Price spent one season with the Phillies. Under Price, the starters improved their ERA from 4.64 in 2019 to 4.08 this season. "Bryan provided a trusted voice and had a major impact on our pitchers this season," Phillies interim general manager Ned Rice said in a statement. "We wish Bryan nothing but the best in his retirement and thank him for his contributions this past season." Price previously managed the Cincinnati Reds for five seasons from 2014 to 2018. He was a pitching coach for the Seattle Mariners, Arizona Diamondbacks and Cincinnati. The Phillies will have their fifth pitching coach in five seasons next year. Chris Young (2019), Rick Kranitz (2018) and Bob McClure (2017) preceded Price.

Dodgers rally past Braves, into Series

DODGERS FROM D1

each of the past seven seasons, with one wrenching loss after another, only deepened the sense that they need that elusive World Series title to validate this otherwise dominant era in franchise history. The Braves, meanwhile, have the look of a team that will be back on this stage soon. They started five players 23 or younger Sunday, including Ian Anderson, their starting pitcher. Five of their seven games in the series were started by rookies, the other two by 26-year-old ace Max Fried. Next year, they should see the return of 2019 ace Mike Soroka, age 23, who missed most of this season with a torn Achilles'.



TONY GUTIERREZ/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Dodgers' Cody Bellinger rounds the bases on a home run off Chris Martin in the seventh inning.

But that makes this loss no less painful. And for the rest of this fall and the bulk of the winter, if not the rest of their lives, the Braves will be haunted by the horror show of base running they put on in Sunday night's fourth inning, when on one play, they somehow managed to run into a pair of outs in the vicinity of third base — a rare blunder that cost them a potentially huge inning and altered the course of the game.

The play Dodgers third baseman Justin Turner made to turn a grounder to him into a pair of outs was so brilliant, so heads-up, it provided a measure of cover for the Braves: It was less a giant mistake on their part than an all-time-great defensive play by Turner. But to be clear, it was also a colossal mistake.

With runners on second and third and nobody out, and with the Braves leading by a run, Nick Markakis rolled a tapper to Turner, who threw home to catch the runner breaking from third, Dansby Swanson, in a rundown. Swanson tried to stay alive long enough to allow the runner on second, Austin Riley, to move up to third. But in one fell swoop, Turner dived to tag out Swanson, then threw from his knees to third to get Riley. A 5-2-5-6 double play, if you were scoring at home.

The Braves still had a one-run lead, and it would survive the fourth and fifth but not the sixth. That's when pinch hitter Enrique Hernández blasted a solo homer off the facing of the second deck in left-center off a 97-mph fastball from lefty A.J. Minter, Atlanta's fourth pitcher of the night. Tie game.

Both by time of game and accumulated drama, the innings seemed to creep by, each of them oozing with tension. The fourth felt like the seventh, the seventh like the ninth. A crowd of 10,920, limited by novel coronavirus guidelines, made enough noise nonetheless for 40,000 as the innings peeled by. Each frame seemed to bring a heaping scoop of missed opportunities — runners left on base, screaming line drives hit directly at outfielders, huge strikeouts and, in the fifth, the latest Mookie moment.

In their nightmares this winter, if the Braves aren't seeing visions of their own base runners stumbling into outs, they will be seeing Mookie Betts, the Dodgers' electrifying right fielder, stealing runs with one astounding play after another. Sunday night's version: a towering flyball to right off the bat of Freddie Freeman in the fifth that Betts leaped for at the wall and caught, robbing Freeman of a homer. Betts, the most significant player acquisition in recent Dodgers history, made game-saving plays in Games 5, 6 and 7, all of them Dodger wins.

It was the seventh game in seven days for these two teams — a tough pace even in the regular season but an unfathomable and unprecedented crucible in October. Every arm still hanging from a shoulder was available, but in limited quantities and with no promises of effectiveness. The first five innings alone featured 10 walks. But all that traffic on the bases made for some huge individual pitches and moments. The first three pitchers to climb the mound at Globe Life Field were rookies — Dustin May, the Dodgers' opener; Anderson, the Braves' outstanding right-hander; and Tony Gonsolin, whom the Dodgers hoped to be their "bulk" guy and pitch into at least the middle of the game but who gave them just two innings. The bullpens at Globe Life Field may have been the least socially distanced places on earth, stuffed full with both the

usual reliever suspects and a handful of additional starters ready for an all-hands-on-deck game. The Dodgers' available arms Sunday included lefty Clayton Kershaw, whose last relief outing was a disastrous appearance in the decisive loss to the Washington Nationals in Game 5 of last year's division series.

It was the Dodgers' fifth pitcher of the night, lefty Julio Urias, who became their mound savior, retiring all nine Braves batters he faced in the seventh, eighth and ninth, stabilizing a game that constantly threatened to get out of hand and allowing the Dodgers to stay away from Kershaw — who now, presumably, will start Game 1 of the World Series on Tuesday night. Baseball didn't just make it to the World Series — it zoomed and careened and barreled right up to its doorstep Sunday night. If the next series doesn't provide anything half as exhilarating as that, it still will have all been worth it.

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NASCAR

Logano holds off Harvick, punches ticket to finale

BY DAVE SKRETTA

KANSAS CITY, KAN. — Joey Logano spent the final 40-plus laps at Kansas Speedway keeping an eye on Kevin Harvick in his rearview mirror.

Now he can look ahead to the NASCAR Cup Series championship race at Phoenix Raceway. Using every bit of the track Sunday to hold off the winningest driver this season, Logano took the checkered flag on a cold, blustery Sunday to secure a spot in the four-driver playoff finale. Harvick was followed across by Alex Bowman and Brad Keselowski as championship contenders swept the top four spots in the opener of the round of eight. "It's on your mind every lap. You come into this race knowing if you win this thing you have an amazing advantage," said Logano, who experienced the same perk

on his way to the 2018 title. "I can't believe it, especially the way the beginning of the race was going, running back there around 10th and not scoring any stage points." Harvick, who already has won nine times this season, kept pulling up to Logano's bumper after the final restart for a caution brought out by Tyler Reddick. But he simply couldn't make a pass stick as Logano moved all over the track to block him while taking advantage of lapped traffic that kept Harvick from making a clear run. "We just needed to get off pit road first. It came down to controlling that restart," Harvick said. "All our guys did a great job. We had a fast car. We moved all over the track. We weren't the best behind somebody, but I had a lot of options." Just none of them worked to get around Logano, who picked

up his third victory of the season and first since the sport shut down because of the novel coronavirus pandemic, which reduced the capacity to about 10,000 fans Sunday. Oh, and one of his other wins this season? At Phoenix, where Logano now will race for a title. "I spent more time looking in the mirror than I did looking in the windshield there," Logano said of his late-race duel with Harvick. "I thought if I could hold him off the first 15 laps, I would have a chance." Kyle Busch was fifth, and Chase Elliott, who won the opening stage, wound up sixth after dealing with radio problems that at one point caused him to mistakenly pit. Elliott tried using a back-up radio and even resorted to hand signs with his team on pit road to convey what he wanted done with the car.

Ryan Blaney, William Byron, playoff driver Martin Truex Jr. and Christopher Bell rounded out the top 10. Kansas native Clint Bowyer, who is retiring after the season and taking a spot in the Fox Sports television booth, was competitive early but wound up finishing 26th in what could be his final race at his home track. Harvick's second-place run was good for his own championship hopes. He now has a 41-point cushion over the cutoff line with two races left before the championship, while Denny Hamlin is 20 points above it after a mistake caused him to brush the wall and he wound up 15th. Keselowski is eight points above Elliott, the first driver below the line. Bowman is 27 points below, Truex is 31 points behind, and Kurt Busch is 73 points back after his engine blew Sunday. — *Associated Press*

NFL WEEK 6

Brady’s Bucs give Green Bay first loss Denver gets its kicks in delayed game

BY FRED GOODALL

TAMPA — So much for Tom Brady vs. Aaron Rodgers. The stingy Tampa Bay Buccaneers defense turned a rare meeting of the Super Bowl-winning quarterbacks into a mismatch Sunday.

Brady outplayed Rodgers, but the young Bucs secondary was equally impressive in a 38-10 rout of the previously unbeaten Packers, who unraveled after taking a 10-0 lead in the first quarter.

Rodgers threw two interceptions — Green Bay’s first turnovers of the season — in a three-pass span of the second quarter to turn that 10-point lead into a 14-10 deficit.

Cornerback Jamel Dean returned the first interception 32 yards for a touchdown. Safety Mike Edwards ran the other back 38 yards to the Green Bay 2-yard line to set up another touchdown.

“Jamel made a hell of a play. It was a huge play. It sparked us,” Brady said.

It was Brady’s first signature victory since he signed with the Bucs (4-2) after a 20-year run

BUCCANEERS 38, PACKERS 10

with the New England Patriots that included nine Super Bowl appearances and six NFL titles.

He got his favorite target from his days with the Patriots into the mix, throwing a 12-yard touchdown pass to Rob Gronkowski for a 28-10 halftime lead. It was Gronkowski’s first touchdown since December 2018 and the 79th for the tandem — tied for fourth on the all-time list with Miami’s Dan Marino and Mark Clayton.

“I thought everybody stepped up and stepped in,” Tampa Bay Coach Bruce Arians said.

Brady also threw a seven-yard touchdown pass to rookie wide receiver Tyler Johnson, and Ronald Jones II rushed for 113 yards and a pair of scores for Tampa Bay, which didn’t turn the ball over, allow a sack or commit a penalty after being flagged 11 times in a one-point loss to Chicago in its previous game.

BY KYLE HIGHTOWER

FOXBOROUGH, MASS. — The Denver Broncos waited more than two weeks to play again, and they were rewarded with their biggest victory of the season.

Brandon McManus had six field goals and linebacker Malik Reed came up with a big sack late to help the Broncos hold on for an 18-12 win over the New England Patriots on Sunday in a game twice delayed following positive coronavirus tests for both teams.

Sunday’s game was originally scheduled for the week before, but it was postponed twice. The delay came after multiple Patriots tested positive for the novel coronavirus, including quarterback Cam Newton and cornerback Stephon Gilmore.

New England (2-3) rallied from an 18-3 deficit and nearly pulled off the comeback, but it committed three turnovers. This is the first time the Patriots have had a losing record after five games since 2001.

Drew Lock finished 10 for 24 for 189 yards in his first start since he

BRONCOS 18, PATRIOTS 12

injured his shoulder in Denver’s Week 2 loss to Pittsburgh. He was steady early but had back-to-back interceptions in the fourth quarter to let the Patriots back in the game.

“We knew that we could be a really good team,” Lock said. “It’s hard to come up to Gillette and win, better yet win without scoring a touchdown.”

Denver’s defense entered with two takeaways on the season. It got three Sunday — two interceptions and a fumble recovery.

“They are a tough-minded group of people. I think that was on display today,” Broncos Coach Vic Fangio said.

New England managed just 288 yards. It was the first game back for Newton, who returned after missing New England’s Week 4 loss at Kansas City. He finished 17 for 25 for 157 yards. He also rushed 10 times for 76 yards and a touchdown.

“The time off showed, but I have to be better,” he said. “And I will be better.”

Denver (2-3) won despite a 17-day layoff and being without leading rusher Melvin Gordon (illness) and top pass catcher Noah Fant (ankle). Phillip Lindsay started in Gordon’s place and rushed 23 times for 101 yards. Tim Patrick had four catches for 101 yards.

McManus, who connected from 52 and 54 yards, has six games with multiple 50-yard field goals. That’s tied with Baltimore’s Justin Tucker for the most in NFL history.

On its final drive, New England got to the Denver 24-yard line before Reed dropped Newton for a six-yard loss. A fourth-down pass fell incomplete two plays later.

The Patriots’ layoff was 13 days; given the virus cases, they had only one practice after they shut down their team facility multiple times.

“Hopefully we’ll be able to practice this week,” Coach Bill Belichick said. “We certainly need it.”

— Associated Press



WADE PAYNE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Titans’ Derrick Henry evades the Texans’ Vernon Hargreaves III during a 53-yard reception in overtime Sunday. Tennessee’s victory sets up a showdown with fellow AFC unbeaten Pittsburgh next Sunday.

After Henry takes over, Tennessee remains undefeated

BY TERESA M. WALKER

NASHVILLE — Expectations for Derrick Henry are already high, given his history of mighty stiff-arms and long touchdown runs.

But last season’s NFL rushing leader keeps finding new ways to top himself, lifting the Tennessee Titans along with him yet again.

Henry took a direct snap and ran five yards for a touchdown 3:30 into overtime as the Titans remained undefeated by rallying past the Houston Texans, 42-36, on Sunday afternoon.

“Obviously we all witnessed somebody taking a game over,” Titans Coach Mike Vrabel said.

The Titans (5-0) finished with a franchise-record 601 yards.

That helped them overcome two turnovers, Stephen Gostkowski having a field goal attempt blocked and missing another, and the defense allowing Deshaun Watson to throw for 335 passing yards and four touchdowns.

Watson’s final scoring pass put Houston (1-5) up 36-29 with 1:50 left, but his toss to Randall Cobb on the two-point conversion attempt failed. Interim coach Romeo Crennel, in his second game since he replaced Bill O’Brien, said he went for the conversion in a bid to put the game out of reach. Crennel also didn’t take a timeout before the game-winning touchdown.

“That play was run in practice, and we should have been pre-

TITANS 42, TEXANS 36 (OT)

His five-yard TD in OT boosts the Titans to 5-0

pared,” Crennel said of the direct snap to Henry.

Ryan Tannehill, who had three of his 19 career game-winning drives to start this season, drove the Titans 76 yards before finding A.J. Brown for a seven-yard touchdown pass with four seconds left. Gostkowski made the extra point, and the Texans fielded a squib kick to send the game to overtime.

Henry ran for 202 yards in regulation, including a 94-yard touchdown jaunt. In overtime, he took a screen pass 53 yards on the second play. He capped the six-play, 82-yard drive with his second score of the game, giving him 212 rushing yards and 52 receiving yards for the afternoon.

The Titans are 16-0 when Henry runs for at least 100 yards. Asked about his performance, Henry gave credit to his teammates.

“I just had to do my job,” he said more than once.

The Titans are off to the second-best start in franchise history; Tennessee won its first 10 games in 2008. The Titans’ win, combined with Pittsburgh’s

blowout of Cleveland, sets up a showdown between the AFC’s last two undefeated teams next week in Nashville.

Tannehill had 364 passing yards and four touchdowns.

The Texans are the two-time defending AFC South champions, and they nearly gave Crennel a second straight victory.

“We did not finish the game on defense,” defensive end J.J. Watt said. “We had multiple opportunities, and we didn’t do it. And as a leader of the defense, I put that squarely on my shoulders. So this one is very difficult to take.”

Tennessee led 21-10 at half-time. Houston safety Justin Reid blocked a 27-yard field goal attempt by Gostkowski, who later

missed a 37-yarder left, in the third quarter to set up David Johnson’s one-yard touchdown run.

The Titans lost left tackle Taylor Lewan to an injured knee on the next drive, and Watt sacked Tannehill two plays later, stripping him of the ball. Jacob Martin recovered for Houston at the Tennessee 4-yard line, and Watson found Randall Cobb at the right pylon for a four-yard touchdown pass and a 23-21 lead.

That started a scoring spree. Henry broke off his 94-yard run before Watson answered two plays later with a 53-yard touchdown pass to Will Fuller V that gave Houston a 30-29 lead.

— Associated Press

PASSING						RUSHING						RECEIVING					
	CMP-ATT	PCT	YARDS	TD	INT		ATT	YARDS	AVG	TD		TARGETS	REC	YARDS	AVG	TD	
Matt Ryan, Falcons	30-40	75.0	371	4	0	Derrick Henry, Titans	22	212	9.6	2	Justin Jefferson, Vikings	11	9	166	18.4	2	
Philip Rivers, Colts	29-44	65.9	371	3	1	Miles Sanders, Eagles	9	118	13.1	0	Keelan Cole Sr., Jaguars	9	6	143	23.8	0	
Ryan Tannehill, Titans	30-41	73.2	364	4	1	D’Andre Swift, Lions	14	116	8.3	2	Julio Jones, Falcons	10	8	137	17.1	2	
Kirk Cousins, Vikings	24-36	66.7	343	3	3	Ronald Jones II, Buccaneers	23	113	4.9	2	Tee Higgins, Bengals	8	6	125	20.8	0	
Deshaun Watson, Texans	28-37	75.7	335	4	0	Lamar Jackson, Ravens	9	108	12.0	1	Will Fuller V, Texans	11	6	123	20.5	1	
Joe Burrow, Bengals	25-39	64.1	313	0	1	James Conner, Steelers	20	101	5.1	1	Anthony Firkser, Titans	9	8	113	14.1	1	
Kyle Allen, Washington	31-42	73.8	280	2	1	Phillip Lindsay, Broncos	23	101	4.4	0	George Kittle, 49ers	10	7	109	15.6	1	
Jimmy Garoppolo, 49ers	23-33	69.7	268	3	0	Myles Gaskin, Dolphins	18	91	5.1	0	Marcus Johnson, Colts	8	5	108	21.6	0	
Gardner Minshew II, Jaguars	25-44	56.8	243	1	1	Darrell Henderson Jr., Rams	14	88	6.3	0	Kenny Golladay, Lions	6	4	105	26.3	0	
Matthew Stafford, Lions	19-31	61.3	223	1	1	Cam Newton, Patriots	10	76	7.6	1	Tim Patrick, Broncos	8	4	101	25.3	0	

NFL WEEK 6

STANDINGS

NFC												
EAST	W	L	T	PCT	PF	PA	HOME	AWAY	AFC	NFC	DIV	
Dallas	2	3	0	.400	163	180	2-1-0	0-2-0	0-1-0	2-2-0	1-0-0	
Philadelphia	1	4	1	.250	141	175	0-2-1	1-2-0	0-2-1	1-2-0	0-1-0	
N.Y. Giants	1	5	0	.166	101	152	1-2-0	0-3-0	0-1-0	1-4-0	1-1-0	
Washington	1	5	0	.166	108	162	1-2-0	0-3-0	0-2-0	1-3-0	1-1-0	
SOUTH	W	L	T	PCT	PF	PA	HOME	AWAY	AFC	NFC	DIV	
Tampa Bay	4	2	0	.666	177	122	3-0-0	1-2-0	2-0-0	2-2-0	1-1-0	
New Orleans	3	2	0	.600	153	150	2-1-0	1-1-0	1-1-0	2-1-0	1-0-0	
Carolina	3	3	0	.500	138	141	1-2-0	2-1-0	1-1-0	2-2-0	1-1-0	
Atlanta	1	5	0	.166	162	184	0-3-0	1-2-0	0-0-0	1-5-0	0-1-0	
NORTH	W	L	T	PCT	PF	PA	HOME	AWAY	AFC	NFC	DIV	
Chicago	5	1	0	.833	128	116	2-1-0	3-0-0	0-1-0	5-0-0	1-0-0	
Green Bay	4	1	0	.800	162	139	2-0-0	2-1-0	0-0-0	4-1-0	2-0-0	
Detroit	2	3	0	.400	133	143	0-2-0	2-1-0	1-0-0	1-3-0	0-2-0	
Minnesota	1	5	0	.166	155	192	0-3-0	1-2-0	1-2-0	0-3-0	0-1-0	
WEST	W	L	T	PCT	PF	PA	HOME	AWAY	AFC	NFC	DIV	
Seattle	5	0	0	1.000	169	135	3-0-0	2-0-0	2-0-0	3-0-0	0-0-0	
L.A. Rams	4	2	0	.667	152	114	2-0-0	2-2-0	0-1-0	4-1-0	0-1-0	
Arizona	3	2	0	.600	128	102	1-1-0	2-1-0	1-0-0	2-2-0	1-0-0	
San Francisco	3	3	0	.500	148	130	1-3-0	2-0-0	1-1-0	2-2-0	1-1-0	
AFC												
EAST	W	L	T	PCT	PF	PA	HOME	AWAY	AFC	NFC	DIV	
Buffalo	4	1	0	.800	139	142	2-0-0	2-1-0	3-1-0	1-0-0	2-0-0	
Miami	3	3	0	.500	160	113	1-2-0	2-1-0	2-2-0	1-1-0	1-2-0	
New England	2	3	0	.400	109	110	2-1-0	0-2-0	2-2-0	0-1-0	1-0-0	
N.Y. Jets	0	6	0	.000	75	185	0-3-0	0-3-0	0-4-0	0-2-0	0-2-0	
SOUTH	W	L	T	PCT	PF	PA	HOME	AWAY	AFC	NFC	DIV	
Tennessee	5	0	0	1.000	164	126	3-0-0	2-0-0	4-0-0	1-0-0	2-0-0	
Indianapolis	4	2	0	.666	157	115	3-0-0	1-2-0	2-2-0	2-0-0	0-1-0	
Houston	1	5	0	.166	146	182	1-2-0	0-3-0	1-4-0	0-1-0	1-1-0	
Jacksonville	1	5	0	.166	125	181	1-2-0	0-3-0	1-4-0	0-1-0	1-2-0	
NORTH	W	L	T	PCT	PF	PA	HOME	AWAY	AFC	NFC	DIV	
Pittsburgh	5	0	0	1.000	156	94	4-0-0	1-0-0	3-0-0	2-0-0	1-0-0	
Baltimore	5	1	0	.833	173	104	2-1-0	3-0-0	3-1-0	2-0-0	2-0-0	
Cleveland	4	2	0	.666	163	187	3-0-0	1-2-0	2-2-0	2-0-0	1-2-0	
Cincinnati	1	4	1	.250	129	157	1-1-0	0-3-1	1-4-0	0-0-1	0-2-0	
WEST	W	L	T	PCT	PF	PA	HOME	AWAY	AFC	NFC	DIV	
Kansas City	4	1	0	.800	149	110	2-1-0	2-0-0	4-1-0	0-0-0	1-1-0	
Las Vegas	3	2	0	.600	151	152	1-1-0	2-1-0	1-2-0	2-0-0	1-0-0	
Denver	2	3	0	.400	100	110	0-2-0	2-1-0	2-2-0	0-1-0	0-0-0	
L.A. Chargers	1	4	0	.200	110	125	0-2-0	1-2-0	1-1-0	0-3-0	0-1-0	

Sunday's results

at N.Y. Giants 20, Washington 19
Baltimore 30, at Philadelphia 28
at Tennessee 42, Houston 36 (OT)
at Indianapolis 31, Cincinnati 27
Atlanta 40, at Minnesota 23 (OT)
Chicago 23, at Carolina 16
Detroit 34, at Jacksonville 16
at Pittsburgh 38, Cleveland 7
Denver 18, at New England 12
at Miami 24, N.Y. Jets 0
at Tampa Bay 38, Green Bay 10
at San Francisco 24, L.A. Rams 16
BYE: L.A. Chargers, Las Vegas, New Orleans, Seattle

Monday's games

Kansas City at Buffalo, 5 p.m.
Arizona at Dallas, 8:15 p.m.

Thursday's game

N.Y. Giants at Philadelphia, 8:20 p.m.

Sunday's games

Dallas at Washington, 1 p.m.
Buffalo at N.Y. Jets, 1 p.m.
Pittsburgh at Tennessee, 1 p.m.
Green Bay at Houston, 1 p.m.
Cleveland at Cincinnati, 1 p.m.
Carolina at New Orleans, 1 p.m.
Detroit at Atlanta, 1 p.m.
Seattle at Arizona, 4:05 p.m.
Kansas City at Denver, 4:25 p.m.
San Francisco at New England, 4:25 p.m.
Jacksonville at L.A. Chargers, 4:25 p.m.
Tampa Bay at Las Vegas, 8:20 p.m.
BYE: Baltimore, Indianapolis, Miami, Minnesota

Monday, Oct. 26

Chicago at L.A. Rams, 8:15 p.m.

Steelers 38, Browns 7

James Conner ran for 101 yards and a touchdown as Pittsburgh trounced Cleveland to improve to 5-0 for the first time since 1978.

Pittsburgh ended Cleveland's four-game winning streak and extended the Browns' skid at Heinz Field to 17 games. The Pittsburgh defense sacked Cleveland's Baker Mayfield four times, picked him off twice and chased him from the game in the third quarter with the outcome already decided.

Steelers safety Minkah Fitzpatrick stepped in front of a Mayfield pass and raced 33 yards to the end zone for an early 10-0 lead. The Browns, who were off to the franchise's best start since 1994, never really recovered.

Mayfield spent a portion of the week nursing a rib injury, and he stood little chance against Pittsburgh's pressure. His second interception set up Ben Roethlisberger's 28-yard touchdown throw to James Washington in the second quarter. That gave the Steelers a 24-0 advantage.

BROWNS	0	7	0	0 - 7
STEELERS	10	14	7	7 - 38

FIRST QUARTER

Pittsburgh: FG Boswell 35, 10:35.

Pittsburgh: Fitzpatrick 33 interception return (Boswell kick), 8:58.

SECOND QUARTER

Pittsburgh: Conner 3 run (Boswell kick), 10:28.

Pittsburgh: Washington 28 pass from Roethlisberger (Boswell kick), 5:43.

Cleveland: Higgins 13 pass from Mayfield (Parkey kick), 1:01.

THIRD QUARTER

Pittsburgh: Claypool 3 run (Boswell kick), :52.

FOURTH QUARTER

Pittsburgh: Snell 1 run (Boswell kick), 8:08.

Attendance: 5,260.

	BROWNS	STEELERS
First Downs	12	18
Total Net Yards	220	277
Rushes-Yards	22-75	37-129
Passing	145	148
Punt Returns	2-6	3-37
Kickoff Returns	5-102	1-28
Interceptions Ret.	0-0	2-33
Comp-Att-Int	15-28-2	15-23-0
Sacked-Yards Lost	4-20	2-20
Punts	6-40.3	5-41.8
Fumbles-Lost	1-0	0-0
Penalties-Yards	7-55	6-45
Time Of Possession	25:54	34:06

RUSHING

Cleveland: Hunt 13-40, Hilliard 4-29, Mayfield 1-5, D.Johnson 4-1.

Pittsburgh: Conner 20-101, Snell 6-17, Claypool 2-7, Roethlisberger 3-5, McFarland 3-2, Rudolph 3-(minus 3).

PASSING

Cleveland: Mayfield 10-18-2-119, Keenum 5-10-0-46.

Pittsburgh: Roethlisberger 14-22-0-162, Rudolph 1-1-0-6.

RECEIVING

Cleveland: Hooper 5-52, Landry 3-40, Beckham 2-25, Hunt 2-17, Higgins 1-13, Bryant 1-11, Njoku 1-7.

Pittsburgh: Claypool 4-74, Washington 4-68, Ebron 2-9, Smith-Schuster 2-6, McFarland 1-6, Snell 1-4, Conner 1-1.

Colts 31, Bengals 27

To win, Indianapolis needed to match the largest regular season comeback in franchise history. Philip Rivers was up to the task.

Rivers rallied the Colts from a 21-0 deficit with three touchdown passes, including the go-ahead score on the first play of the fourth quarter, as Indianapolis edged Cincinnati.

None of the Colts' four previous regular season comebacks from a 21-point deficit came at home, and the last time Indianapolis achieved the feat came in 2003 at Tampa Bay. Only a 28-point comeback against Kansas City in the playoffs after the 2013 season was a larger margin. And it was the fifth time the Bengals have blown a 21-point lead.

Rivers finished 29 for 44 for 371 yards. He threw the go-ahead 14-yard score to Jack Doyle on the first play of the fourth quarter. Rodrigo Blankenship added a 40-yard field goal, and Julian Blackmon picked off Joe Burrow with 39 seconds left.

BENGALS	14	10	3	0 - 27
COLTS	0	21	0	10 - 31

FIRST QUARTER

Cincinnati: Bernard 2 run (Bullock kick), 11:17.

Cincinnati: Burrow 2 run (Bullock kick), 3:18.

SECOND QUARTER

Cincinnati: Mixon 7 run (Bullock kick), 14:56.

Indianapolis: Burton 1 run (Blankenship kick), 12:18.

Cincinnati: FG Bullock 47, 8:04.

Indianapolis: Burton 10 pass from Rivers (Blankenship kick), 4:58.

Indianapolis: Pascal 17 pass from Rivers (Blankenship kick), :15.

THIRD QUARTER

Cincinnati: FG Bullock 55, 3:32.

FOURTH QUARTER

Indianapolis: Doyle 14 pass from Rivers (Blankenship kick), 14:55.

Indianapolis: FG Blankenship 40, 4:03.

Attendance: 12,453.

	BENGALS	COLTS
First Downs	22	23
Total Net Yards	398	430
Rushes-Yards	32-98	15-59
Passing	300	371
Punt Returns	2-12	2-17
Kickoff Returns	2-40	1-25
Interceptions Ret.	1-0	1-4
Comp-Att-Int	25-39-1	29-44-1
Sacked-Yards Lost	2-13	1-0
Punts	3-47.3	3-45.7
Fumbles-Lost	1-0	1-1
Penalties-Yards	6-20	6-55
Time Of Possession	34:28	25:32

RUSHING

Cincinnati: Mixon 18-54, Boyd 1-25, Bernard 8-15, Higgins 1-2, Burrow 3-2, Perine 1-0.

Indianapolis: Taylor 12-60, Burton 1-1, Wilkins 1-(minus 1), Rivers 1-(minus 1).

PASSING

Cincinnati: Burrow 25-39-1-313.

Indianapolis: Rivers 29-44-1-371.

RECEIVING

Cincinnati: Green 8-96, Higgins 6-125, Boyd 5-54, Bernard 3-13, Mixon 2-15, Thomas 1-10.

Indianapolis: Johnson 5-108, Hines 5-27, Burton 4-58, Taylor 4-55, Pascal 4-44, Doyle 3-29, Harris 3-29, Hilton 1-11.

MISSED FIELD GOALS

Cincinnati: Bullock 48.

Bears 23, Panthers 16

Nick Foles threw one touchdown pass and ran for another score, Chicago forced three turnovers and sacked Teddy Bridgewater four times, and the Bears held on to beat Carolina in Charlotte.

Foles finished with 198 passing yards and David Montgomery added 58 yards on the ground as the Bears started the season 3-0 on the road for the first time since 2006, when they reached the Super Bowl.

Chicago improved to 2-1 with Foles as its starter. He also rallied the Bears past Atlanta in Week 3 when Coach Matt Nagy benched Mitchell Trubisky.

Bridgewater managed a season-low 216 passing yards and was intercepted twice.

The Panthers had two chances to tie it late but couldn't convert. On fourth and two from the Chicago 36 with two minutes left, DJ Moore couldn't haul in a one-handed catch on a pass that was slightly overthrow.

Carolina's defense came up with a stop, but DeAndre Houston-Carson intercepted Bridgewater to seal the victory for Chicago.

BEARS	7	6	7	3 - 23
PANTHERS	3	3	0	10 - 16

FIRST QUARTER

Chicago: Kmet 9 pass from Foles (Santos kick), 11:40.

Carolina: FG Slye 21, 5:07.

SECOND QUARTER

Chicago: FG Santos 31, 8:09.

Carolina: FG Slye 20, 2:00.

Chicago: FG Santos 55, :02.

THIRD QUARTER

Chicago: Foles 1 run (Santos kick), 1:44.

FOURTH QUARTER

Carolina: Davis 1 run (Slye kick), 13:11.

Chicago: FG Santos 31, 9:19.

Carolina: FG Slye 48, 7:46.

Attendance: 5,240.

	BEARS	PANTHERS
First Downs	22	23
Total Net Yards	261	303
Rushes-Yards	25-63	29-112
Passing	198	191
Punt Returns	1-0	1-9
Kickoff Returns	0-0	3-72
Interceptions Ret.	2-9	1-0
Comp-Att-Int	23-39-1	16-29-2
Sacked-Yards Lost	0-0	4-25
Punts	4-44.3	1-49.0
Fumbles-Lost	1-0	1-1
Penalties-Yards	10-92	8-69
Time Of Possession	28:54	31:06

RUSHING

Chicago: Montgomery 19-58, Foles 5-4, Patterson 1-1.

Carolina: Davis 18-52, Bridgewater 8-48, Cannon 3-12.

PASSING

Chicago: Foles 23-39-1-198.

Carolina: Bridgewater 16-29-2-216.

RECEIVING

Chicago: Robinson 5-53, Graham 5-34, Montgomery 4-39, Mooney 3-36, Miller 3-8, Kmet 2-20, Patterson 1-8.

Carolina: Moore 5-93, Anderson 4-77, Cannon 2-15, Davis 2-3, Kirkwood 1-13, Thomas 1-9, Manherzt 1-6.

MISSED FIELD GOALS

Carolina: Slye 54.

RAVENS 30, EAGLES 28

BY ROB MAADDI

PHILADELPHIA — The Baltimore Ravens got the stop they needed against a depleted Philadelphia Eagles offense that staged an impressive comeback.

L.J. Fort and Matthew Judon tackled Carson Wentz on a two-point conversion attempt with 1:55 remaining, and the Ravens held on for a 30-28 victory over the Eagles on Sunday.

“These are the type of games that build championship chemistry,” said Calais Campbell, who had three sacks. “In the moment, when it really mattered, them going for two, we showed up and made the play when it counted.”

Lamar Jackson threw a touch-down pass, ran for 108 yards and one score and sent the Ravens (5-1) to their third straight win.

“It’s a win that we’re very, very happy to have,” Baltimore Coach John Harbaugh said. “I’m proud of our guys for winning the fight at the end. We’re not going to be happy with certain things. We have to execute better on both sides. We can’t give up big plays. We’ve got to get them stopped.”

The Eagles (1-4-1) came in missing seven offensive starters, including four linemen, and then lost two more when running back Miles Sanders left in the third quarter and tight end Zach Ertz exited in the fourth.

Wentz tossed two touchdown passes, was sacked six times and managed to finish the game along with center Jason Kelce as Philadelphia’s only healthy starters.

“Every healthy body we had played in this game,” Eagles Coach Doug Pederson said. “The guys battled their tails off and had a chance to win against a healthy, healthy team. I’m proud of these guys.”

NFL WEEK 6

Rivera will be criticized for two-point attempt, but ‘we’re going to play to win’

On the NFL
LES CARPENTER

EAST RUTHERFORD, N.J. — Ron Rivera really had no choice but to go for two at the end of Sunday’s game, no matter whether logic might have said he should have kicked an extra point and played for overtime. The Washington Football Team coach isn’t much in the mood for ties these days. He told his players as much in the locker room as their 20-19 loss to the previously winless New York Giants still burned on the MetLife Stadium scoreboards outside. While the arithmetic of a possible tie might have inched his team closer to the NFC East title he has decided to chase, he is also pursuing something bigger, far less tangible than the 1-5 record Washington is taking to the bottom of the division standings. He has talked a lot these past few months about building a “culture,” but what he’s really trying to do is change a mentality. He’s trying to pull an organization that hasn’t understood winning for some time to a place where victories are to be expected. And what better place for him to show that than on the 2-yard line of an empty stadium in the second month of a rebuild that’s taking longer than he expected?

“Why not take that opportunity?” he asked during his postgame news conference. Rivera was talking about the logic of the two-point conversion attempt following Cam Sims’s touchdown catch with 36 seconds left in a game that Washington had seemed destined to lose for much of the day. Sure, he could have called for an extra point, hoped to win a coin toss and maybe gotten a quick overtime touchdown. But there’s an emotional element to football that the old linebacker in Rivera embraces, the part of him that played for Mike Ditka and the 1985 Chicago Bears, a zeal for winning that he must



RICKY CARIOTI/THE WASHINGTON POST

Washington quarterback Kyle Allen manages to reach for a first down as he is brought down by Madre Harper, left, and Cam Brown.

wonder whether this team he has inherited truly comprehends. “I’m playing to win. I’m trying to get our players to understand this is how we’re going to do things,” he said Sunday. “We’re going to do things to the max. We’re going to play to win football games.” Out of context, his words have

the ring of coaching cliches, but the desperation he feels now is bigger than a few slogans tossed in a news conference. He’s quickly reaching the halfway point of a one-season rebuild, and the need to establish a hungrier approach remains. He has said, many times, that he wanted this job because he liked the young talent on

Washington’s roster. His early Carolina Panthers teams were older than this one. Their experience might have helped bring the winning, but it meant they also aged poorly making a Super Bowl run. With Washington, he saw the potential for a more sustained period of success. And yet the young team he got

hasn’t always had the fire he might have expected. His benching of quarterback Dwayne Haskins almost two weeks ago was in part because of Haskins’s work habits since the start of the season, people with knowledge of the situation have said, but the decision to demote him to third string wasn’t just a message to Haskins; it was a message to the

rest of the players as well about the approach he was looking for out of all of them. Even as Rivera battles cancer and has weeks where he looks as if he is barely able to stand, the coach has remained on the field, a symbol of the grind he wants from his players. “I think everyone in the league knows who Ron is and how Ron is,” tight end Logan Thomas said. On Sunday, Rivera called for a two-point conversion at a moment when most would have said the smart thing was to kick an extra point. He also went for it twice on fourth down, and his team converted on each attempt. This was the “Riverboat Ron” everyone has heard about, the coach who decided to deviate from the conservative decision-making that marred his first two years with Carolina, a change often credited for helping the Panthers win three straight NFC South titles. Of course, his quarterback was Cam Newton then, a league MVP during that run who was surrounded by other high-level players. This time, he is trying the same things with Kyle Allen throwing the ball to a limited group of receivers and playing behind an often overmatched offensive line. But perhaps some of the lack of talent, his words and actions seem to suggest, is more a lack of willingness to fight. He said Sunday’s loss will “eat” at him because in the end it’s a loss, his team’s fifth straight. But it was a risk an old linebacker who once tackled ballcarriers for Iron Mike Ditka had to take. “I don’t care this is my first year [with Washington],” Rivera said. “I don’t care that we have a group of young guys who have to learn. We’re trying to teach them, we’re going to teach them, and they’re going to learn how to win, and at the end of the day that’s what we’re here for.” Even if doing so meant taking a most unsatisfying defeat. les.carpenter@washpost.com

Titans 42, Texans 36 (OT)

TEXANS	0	10	13	13	0	36
TITANS	14	7	0	15	6	42
FIRST QUARTER						
Tennessee: Firkser 7 pass from Tannehill (Gostkowski kick), 6:57.						
Tennessee: A.Brown 6 pass from Tannehill (Gostkowski kick), :12.						
SECOND QUARTER						
Houston: Fells 1 pass from Watson (Fairbairn kick), 8:56.						
Tennessee: Humphries 22 pass from Tannehill (Gostkowski kick), 3:34.						
Houston: FG Fairbairn 38, :00.						
THIRD QUARTER						
Houston: Da.Johnson 1 run (Fairbairn kick), 6:15.						
Houston: Cobb 4 pass from Watson (kick failed), 4:35.						
FOURTH QUARTER						
Tennessee: Henry 94 run (Westbrook-Ikhine pass from Tannehill), 9:23.						
Houston: Fuller 53 pass from Watson (Fairbairn kick), 8:37.						
Houston: Cooks 1 pass from Watson (pass failed), 1:50.						
Tennessee: A.Brown 7 pass from Tannehill (Gostkowski kick), :04.						
OVERTIME						
Tennessee: Henry 5 run, 6:30.						
Attendance: 10,166.						
	TEXANS	TITANS				
First Downs	25	31				
Total Net Yards	412	601				
Rushes-Yards	27-92	27-263				
Passing	320	338				
Punt Returns	1-0	3-20				
Kickoff Returns	2-39	3-63				
Interceptions Ret.	1-0	0-0				
Comp-Att-Int	28-38-0	30-41-1				
Sacked-Yards Lost	2-15	2-26				
Punts	4-30	1-54.0				
Fumbles-Lost	0-0	1-1				
Penalties-Yards	4-46	7-73				
Time Of Possession	31:40	31:50				
RUSHING						
Houston: Da.Johnson 19-57, Watson 4-26, Du.Johnson 4-9.						
Tennessee: Henry 22-212, McNichols 5-51.						
PASSING						
Houston: Watson 28-37-0-335, Cobb 0-1-0-0.						
Tennessee: Tannehill 30-41-1-364.						
RECEIVING						
Houston: Cooks 9-68, Fuller 6-123, Fells 6-85, Cobb 3-17, Brown 2-28, Da.Johnson 1-12, Du.Johnson 1-2.						
Tennessee: Firkser 8-113, Humphries 6-64, A.Brown 5-56, Raymond 3-32, Henry 2-52, McNichols 2-11, Swain 2-10, Batson 1-13, J.Smith 1-13.						

Ravens 30, Eagles 28

RAVENS	14	3	7	6	30
EAGLES	0	0	6	22	28
FIRST QUARTER					
Baltimore: Boyle 7 pass from L.Jackson (Tucker kick), 8:02.					
Baltimore: Edwards 7 run (Tucker kick), :31.					
SECOND QUARTER					
Baltimore: FG Tucker 46, 12:08.					
THIRD QUARTER					
Philadelphia: Arcega-Whiteside 0 run (run failed), 7:17.					
Baltimore: L.Jackson 37 run (Tucker kick), 4:25.					
FOURTH QUARTER					
Philadelphia: Croom 3 pass from Wentz (G.Ward pass from Wentz), 13:32.					
Baltimore: FG Tucker 55, 10:01.					
Philadelphia: Fulgham 18 pass from Wentz (Arcega-Whiteside pass from Wentz), 3:48.					
Philadelphia: Wentz 1 run (run failed), 1:55.					
	RAVENS	EAGLES			
First Downs	17	19			
Total Net Yards	355	364			
Rushes-Yards	37-182	18-194			
Passing	173	170			
Punt Returns	5-43	3-20			
Kickoff Returns	1-37	2-43			
Interceptions Ret.	0-0	0-0			
Comp-Att-Int	16-27-0	21-40-0			
Sacked-Yards Lost	3-13	6-43			
Fumbles-Lost	2-0	6-49-2			
Penalties-Yards	12-132	3-20			
Time Of Possession	36:30	23:30			
RUSHING					
Baltimore: Jackson 9-108, Dobbins 9-28, Edwards 14-26, Ingram 5-22.					
Philadelphia: Sanders 9-118, Wentz 5-49, Hurts 2-23, Scott 2-4.					
PASSING					
Baltimore: Jackson 16-27-0-186.					
Philadelphia: Wentz 21-40-0-213.					
RECEIVING					
Baltimore: M.Brown 4-57, Boyle 3-33, Duvernay 3-31, Andrews 2-21, Dobbins 2-1, Snead 1-32, Boykin 1-11.					
Philadelphia: Fulgham 6-75, Eriz 4-33, Rodgers 3-31, Ward 2-19, Scott 2-5, Hightower 1-50, Croom 1-3, Hurts 1-3, Sanders 1-1 (minus 6).					

49ERS 24, RAMS 16

BY JOSH DUBOW
SANTA CLARA, CALIF. — Jimmy Garoppolo threw three touchdown passes in the first half and Jason Verrett’s first interception in more than four years helped preserve the lead, giving the San Francisco 49ers a 24-16 victory over the Los Angeles Rams on Sunday night. Garoppolo bounced back after a rough performance in a loss to Miami last week, when he got pulled at halftime after struggling with an injured ankle, to help the defending NFC champion 49ers (3-3) snap a two-game skid. He staked the 49ers to a 21-6 halftime lead over the Rams (4-2) by relying mostly on short passes and connecting on touchdown throws to Deebo Samuel, George Kittle and Brandon Aiyuk. San Francisco’s defense stepped up with some key stops in the second half. Los Angeles got in the red zone on its first possession but settled for a field

goal after Andrew Whitworth committed a false start on third and one. The Rams were in position to cut even more into the deficit before Dre Greenlaw stopped Darrell Henderson Jr. for a one-yard loss on second and goal from the 1-yard line, Cooper Kupp dropped a pass in the end zone on third down and Verrett came up with the interception on fourth down. Verrett has ended up on injured reserve in five of his six seasons in the NFL, and he played only 66 defensive snaps over the past three years. But he has gotten back to his 2015 Pro Bowl level this season, helping fill the void created by an injury to Richard Sherman. Verrett’s interception was part of a rough day for Goff, who missed an open Kupp on a deep ball earlier in the second half. Goff finished 19 for 38 for 198 yards with two touchdowns and one interception. Garoppolo was unable to keep up his fast start but still finished 23 for 33 for 268 yards. The 49ers didn’t exactly air it out on their opening drive, with all four of Garoppolo’s passes

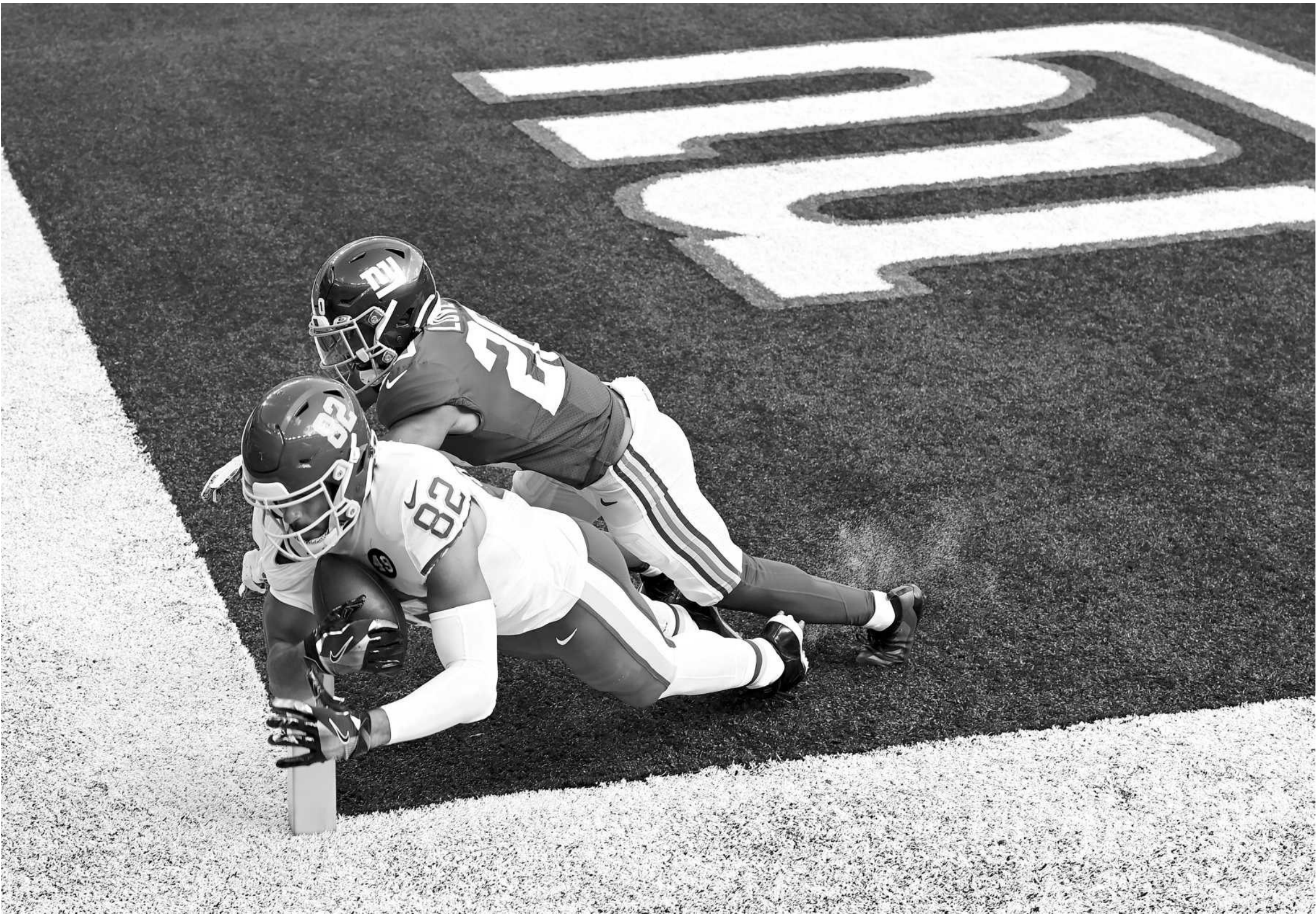
being thrown behind the line of scrimmage. Two were glorified handoffs that counted as passes because the receiver was running in front of Garoppolo; Samuel took one 35 yards and then scored a six-yard touchdown on the other. A week after getting stopped on an early fourth-and-one gamble, the 49ers converted in a big way. Garoppolo found Kittle on a one-on-one matchup with Darious Williams on a fourth-and-two play that turned into a 44-yard touchdown. Rams kicker Samuel Sloman’s extra-point attempt after Goff’s 10-yard touchdown pass to Robert Woods in the second quarter was blocked by Dion Jordan. It was the third missed PAT this season for Sloman, which is tied with Kansas City’s Harrison Butker for the most in the NFL. The previous Rams kicker to miss three extra points in one season was Mike Lansford in 1988. The 49ers wore a decal on their helmets to honor Hall of Fame pass rusher Fred Dean. He died Wednesday after suffering complications of the novel coronavirus. He was 68. — Associated Press

RAMS	0	6	3	7	16
49ERS	7	14	0	3	24
FIRST QUARTER					
San Francisco: Samuel 6 pass from Garoppolo (Gould kick), 11:39.					
SECOND QUARTER					
San Francisco: Kittle 44 pass from Garoppolo (Gould kick), 14:24.					
L.A. Rams: Woods 10 pass from Goff (kick blocked), 9:03.					
San Francisco: Aiyuk 2 pass from Garoppolo (Gould kick), 1:47.					
THIRD QUARTER					
L.A. Rams: FG Sloman 42, 12:06.					
FOURTH QUARTER					
San Francisco: FG Gould 49, 5:26.					
L.A. Rams: Reynolds 40 pass from Goff (Sloman kick), 3:24.					
	RAMS	49ERS			
First Downs	17	24			
Total Net Yards	311	390			
Rushes-Yards	19-113	37-122			
Passing	198	268			
Punt Returns	3-29	2-20			
Kickoff Returns	3-69	1-21			
Interceptions Ret.	0-0	1-0			
Comp-Att-Int	19-38-1	23-33-0			
Sacked-Yards Lost	0-0	0-0			
Punts	6-48.5	5-47.0			
Fumbles-Lost	0-0	0-0			
Penalties-Yards	6-34	7-62			
Time Of Possession	22:05	37:55			
RUSHING					
L.A. Rams: Henderson 14-88, Woods 2-11, Goff 1-10, Brown 2-4.					
San Francisco: Mostert 17-65, Hasty 9-37, McKinnon 6-18, Garoppolo 4-8, Samuel 1-(minus 6).					
PASSING					
L.A. Rams: Goff 19-38-1-198.					
San Francisco: Garoppolo 23-33-0-268.					
RECEIVING					
L.A. Rams: Woods 4-29, Higbee 3-56, Everett 3-27, Brown 3-18, Kupp 3-11, Reynolds 2-45, Jefferson 1-8.					
San Francisco: Kittle 7-109, Samuel 6-66, Bourne 2-44, Aiyuk 2-12, Mostert 2-11, McKinnon 2-10, Juszczyk 1-8, T.Taylor 1-8.					

Buccaneers 38, Packers 10

PACKERS	10	0	0	0	10
BUCCANEERS	0	28	10	0	38
FIRST QUARTER					
GB: FG Crosby 39, 10:27.					
GB: A.Jones 1 run (Crosby kick), :48.					
SECOND QUARTER					
TB: Dean 32 interception return (Succop kick), 12:42.					
TB: R.Jones 2 run (Succop kick), 11:02.					
TB: Johnson 7 pass from Brady (Succop kick), 4:35.					
TB: Gronkowski 12 pass from Brady (Succop kick), 1:02.					
THIRD QUARTER					
TB: FG Succop 50, 12:14.					
TB: R.Jones 1 run (Succop kick), 2:40.					
Attendance: 15,540.					
	PACKERS	BUCS			
First Downs	13	21			
Total Net Yards	201	324			
Rushes-Yards	21-94	35-158			
Passing	107	166			
Punt Returns	0-0	4-30			
Kickoff Returns	0-0	1-20			
Interceptions Ret.	0-0	2-69			
Comp-Att-Int	16-35-2	17-28-0			
Sacked-Yards Lost	5-53	0-0			
Punts	7-46.4	5-38.4			
Fumbles-Lost	1-0	4-1			
Penalties-Yards	6-76	0-0			
Time Of Possession	31:37	28:23			
RUSHING					
Green Bay: Williams 4-34, Dillon 5-31, Jones 10-15, Rodgers 2-14.					
Tampa Bay: Jones 23-113, Vaughn 5-42, Gabbert 3-2, McCoy 4-1.					
PASSING					
Green Bay: Rodgers 16-35-2-160.					
Tampa Bay: Brady 17-27-0-166, Gabbert 0-1-0-0.					
RECEIVING					
Green Bay: D.Adams 6-61, Valdes-Scantling 3-32, Evans 2-6, Toney 3-25, Shepherd 1-16.					
Tampa Bay: Gronkowski 5-78, Godwin 5-48, Jones 2-8, Evans 1-10, Johnson 1-7, McCoy 1-6, Miller 1-6, Brate 1-3.					

NFL WEEK 6



PHOTOS BY RICKY CARIOTI/THE WASHINGTON POST

Washington tight end Logan Thomas catches a five-yard touchdown pass just before halftime. “I just tried to give him a ball he could go up and get,” quarterback Kyle Allen said, “and he made a hell of a play.”

Loss to Giants drops Washington into NFC East basement

WASHINGTON FROM D1

find an open receiver on the attempt. His pass landed in the end zone without a Washington receiver around.

The loss dropped Washington to the bottom of the division at 1-5 (tied with New York) and left its coach livid.

“Yeah, it’s going to bug me because we lost, and it really does, it pisses me off,” Rivera told reporters in a postgame video conference. “I want to win football games. I don’t care if this is my first year; I don’t care that we have a group of young guys that have to learn. We’re trying to teach them, we’re going to teach them, and they’re going to learn how to win. And at the end of the day, that’s what we’re here for.”

The decision came as no surprise to the players, who knew of Rivera’s history of making bold decisions, which earned him the nickname “Riverboat Ron” during his time with the Carolina Panthers.

Yet for much of the first half, the decisions Rivera made in the lead-up to the game seemed to have little impact as Washington’s issues spread to every phase. A missed field goal ended Washington’s first drive, and an interception cut short its second. Rookie Saahdiq Charles was lost to a knee injury just two snaps into his starting debut at left guard, and Allen, in only his second start for Washington, took three sacks, one he could have avoided instead of taking a 14-yard loss. The defense allowed scores on the Giants’ first three drives.

For nearly 29 minutes to start

Sunday’s game at MetLife Stadium, Washington was a disaster growing more disastrous by the second, with missed tackles, curious plays and the general appearance of a team wholly unprepared to face even an 0-5 opponent.

But Washington’s landslide stopped in the final two minutes of the first half, when Tress Way, punting on fourth and nine from the New York 45-yard line, was hit by a Giants player, giving Washington a free five yards and a chance to redo its fourth-down attempt.

“I thought because we had moved the ball pretty well and we didn’t have enough to show for it,” Rivera said of his decision to go for it. “So I thought, again, that we could get the first down. I wanted to get the first down because I wanted to put points up on the board before the half.”

Allen rewarded his coach’s confidence, connecting with Dontrelle Inman for a 15-yard completion to convert. Short passes to running back J.D. McKissic and wide receiver Terry McLaurin moved Washington into the red zone before the Giants’ defense gave it a gift: a holding penalty that bumped the offense to the 5-yard line.

With only 17 seconds remaining in the half, Allen, while falling backward under pressure, threw a perfect ball to tight end Logan Thomas in the back corner of the end zone. Thomas dragged both feet to stay in bounds while securing the catch over his shoulder, bringing Washington within three points at the break.

“We had been working on that all week,” Allen said. “It was a



Giants linebacker Tae Crowder returns Allen’s fumble 43 yards for a touchdown in the fourth quarter.

matchup deal. We got him outside . . . on I think a safety. I believe Logan can do that stuff all the time. He’s kind of like a rebounder, so we wanted to give him a chance. . . . I just tried to give him a ball he could go up and get, and he made a hell of a play.”

The second half began with a scary moment, when New York wide receiver C.J. Board was knocked out after a hit and lay flat on his back as trainers rushed to his side. His face mask was removed as more than a dozen doctors and trainers tried to keep him stable before carting him off. Board suffered a concussion and sprained neck on the play and

was taken to a hospital for further evaluation, the Giants announced later in the game.

When play resumed, Washington’s defense took the lead in guiding its comeback, thwarting the Giants’ drive with a tackle for a loss on a third down that forced a punt and then, after a three-and-out by Washington’s offense, grabbing a takeaway to prevent what could have led to a two-score deficit for Washington.

One play after being flagged for pass interference, defensive back Kendall Fuller made a diving interception of Giants quarterback Daniel Jones’s pass in the back of the end zone to end a

14-play drive that had taken more than nine minutes off the clock. It was his fourth pick of the season, matching a career high.

“I was actually kind of just looking at the ball about to let it go until I heard [Deshazor Everett] say, ‘Go get it, go get it,’” Fuller said.

Fuller’s interception sparked a 14-play, 70-yard drive by Washington that spanned nearly seven minutes and spilled into the fourth quarter. The team picked up five first downs along the way, setting up the game-tying 28-yard field goal by Dustin Hopkins.

After Washington’s defense

again forced the Giants to punt, the ball was back in Allen’s hands for a chance to lead Washington on a go-ahead scoring drive with about seven minutes remaining. Instead, he was strip-sacked on third and nine, and the ball was recovered by Giants linebacker Tae Crowder, who ran it back 43 yards for the touchdown.

Allen responded, leading Washington on a final 10-play, 75-yard drive that he capped with the 22-yard touchdown pass to Sims. Allen finished 31 for 42 for 280 yards with the two touchdowns — enough to retain his starting job for another week, Rivera said, despite his two turnovers.

But as Rivera reiterated to his players after the game, he came to win, not to tie. So he spurned the extra-point attempt after Allen’s last touchdown pass, tried for two instead and, after the attempt failed, watched the final seconds tick off the clock before Washington fell to the bottom of the NFC East.

“It’ll eat at me because we lost,” Rivera said. “I want to win. . . . I’m trying to get our players to understand that this is how we’re going to do things. We’re going to do things to the max. We’re going to play to win football games.”

Allen seemed to reiterate his coach’s sentiment.

“We need to clean up the mistakes, and we need to do this and that, and we’re working through a lot of things. But I’m proud of the way we fought,” Allen said. “I think that’s a mentality that we’re starting to build around here, and that’s starting to become part of who we are.”

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TAKEAWAYS

Excerpted from
washingtonpost.com/sports

Rivera rolls the dice and comes up empty

After the New York Giants took a 20-13 lead with a fumble return for a touchdown by linebacker Tae Crowder with 3:29 to play, Washington Football Team quarterback Kyle Allen led a 10-play, 75-yard touchdown drive. The march was capped by a 22-yard pass from Allen to third-year wide receiver Cam Sims, who beat Giants cornerback Logan Ryan with a double-move for his first career score.

Rather than send Dustin

Hopkins out to attempt the game-tying extra point, Washington Coach Ron Rivera left his offense on the field to go for two and the win.

“I was going for it,” Rivera told reporters after the game when asked whether he considered kicking the extra point. “The intent is to learn how to win football games.”

With running back Antonio Gibson lined up to his right, Allen took the ensuing snap out of the shotgun and eventually scrambled to his left. It appeared he might tuck the ball and run, but instead he stopped around the 6-yard line, backpedaled and, unable to find an open receiver, threw a wobbly pass that fell

incomplete in the end zone.

Allen shows moxie

Making his second consecutive start in place of the demoted Dwayne Haskins, Allen completed 31 of 42 passes for 280 yards, two touchdowns and an interception. He led scoring drives of 11, 13, 14 and 10 plays, including a touchdown march just before halftime that kept Washington in the game.

On that drive, Allen converted a crucial fourth down after a roughing-the-kicker penalty on New York’s Austin Johnson by sliding to his right to avoid a would-be sack and finding Dontrelle Inman for a 15-yard

gain. Four plays later, he found tight end Logan Thomas on a fade route in the corner of the end zone, and Thomas used his seven-inch height advantage over Giants cornerback Julian Love to come down with his second score of the season.

On the drive that led to Washington’s game-tying field goal in the fourth quarter, Allen picked up a first down with a nifty spin move on a third-down scramble. He threw a bad interception in the first quarter, but his biggest mistake came in the fourth quarter of a tie game, when Giants linebacker Tyler Fackrell knocked the ball out of his hands on third down and Crowder followed with the scoop and score.

Early struggles

The Giants moved the ball with ease on their opening possession, with quarterback Daniel Jones finding tight end Evan Engram for a 21-yard gain and Devonta Freeman running for 14 yards on New York’s first two plays from scrimmage.

Washington’s defense ultimately forced the Giants to settle for a field goal, but things got worse before they got better. Second-year wide receiver Darius Slayton beat cornerback Fabian Moreau and safety Landon Collins for a 23-yard touchdown catch in the first quarter that gave New York a 10-0 lead, and Jones ripped off a 49-yard run in the

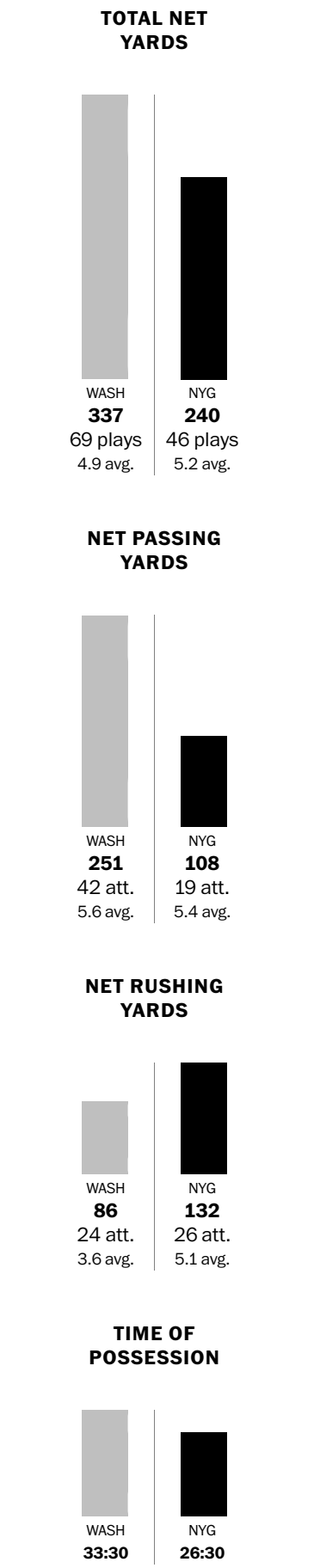
second quarter that led to another field goal.

Charles goes out early

Sunday was supposed to offer the first look at the revamped offensive line. Rookie fourth-round pick Saahdiq Charles earned his first career start at left guard in place of Wes Martin after being sidelined the previous five weeks with a calf injury, while veteran Brandon Scherff returned from a knee injury and replaced Wes Schweitzer at right guard. On Washington’s second play from scrimmage, Charles went down with a left knee injury and limped off the field. He didn’t return.

— Scott Allen

NFL WEEK 6



Washington
Giants

1	2	3	4	FINAL
0	10	0	9	19
10	3	0	7	20



Washington's Morgan Moses (76) and Chase Young exit after a fifth straight loss, this one to the previously winless Giants.

Washington's drives

	Time received	How ball obtained	Drive began	Number of plays	Net yards	Last snap	Drive result
1	15:00	Kickoff	WAS 32	12	39	NYG 29	Missed FG
2	3:23	Kickoff	WAS 28	2	0	WAS 28	Interception
3	1:36	Kickoff	WAS 13	11	70	NYG 17	Field goal
4	6:15	Kickoff	WAS 30	13	70	NYG 5	Touchdown
5	11:33	Punt	WAS 19	3	6	WAS 25	Punt
6	0:51	Interception	WAS 20	14	70	NYG 10	Field goal
7	6:57	Punt	WAS 25	7	22	NYG 45	Fumble
8	3:29	Kickoff	WAS 25	10	75	NYG 22	Touchdown

Giants' drives

	Time received	How ball obtained	Drive began	Number of plays	Net yards	Last snap	Drive result
1	8:54	Missed FG	NYG 37	9	48	WAS 15	Field goal
2	2:31	Interception	WAS 27	3	27	WAS 23	Touchdown
3	10:50	Kickoff	NYG 25	8	73	WAS 2	Field goal
4	0:13	Kickoff	NYG 25	1	-1	NYG 25	End of half
5	15:00	Kickoff	NYG 25	6	32	WAS 43	Punt
6	10:05	Punt	NYG 20	14	73	WAS 7	Interception
7	8:56	Kickoff	NYG 16	6	15	NYG 31	Punt
8	0:36	Kickoff	WAS 38	1	3	WAS 33	End of game

Washington's schedule

SEPT. 13	SEPT. 20	SEPT. 27	OCT. 4	OCT. 11	OCT. 18	OCT. 25	NOV. 1	NOV. 8	NOV. 15	NOV. 22	NOV. 26	DEC. 6	DEC. 13	DEC. 20	DEC. 27	JAN. 3
W	L	L	L	L	L											
PHI	@ ARI	@ CLE	BAL	LAR	@ NYG	DAL	BYE	NYG	@ DET	CIN	@ DAL	@ PIT	@ SF	SEA	CAR	@ PHI
27-17	30-15	34-20	31-17	30-10	20-19	1, Fox		1, Fox	1, Fox	1, CBS	4:30, Fox	1, Fox	4:25, Fox	1, Fox	1, CBS	1, Fox

SALLY JENKINS

Rivera’s gamble shows what he wants this team to be, even if it isn’t there yet

JENKINS FROM D1

mouth. Rivera was trying to show his club what kind of outfit he wants it to be. For lack of a better term, the call was a vision quest. “The only way you learn to win is to play to win,” he said.

Instead, reality kicked in. Kyle Allen threw a hesitant, oscillating spinner incomplete under pressure, and Riverboat Ron effectively threw himself to the wolves, with the team at 1-5 after a 20-19 loss.

Still, there was much to admire in it. An outfit that has been all over the place finally found itself in the last quarter despite a calamitous strip-sack fumble by Allen that literally handed the Giants six points. The defense made a big stop when it most counted. And Allen bounced back to connect on 8 of 10 passes on that final 75-yard scoring drive. Guys showed all kinds of determination in those last two minutes. Isaiah Wright somehow hung on to the ball despite a dead arm. Allen made two cool third-down conversions with driving passes. And then there was that beautiful, swanning 22-yard scoring catch by Cam Sims.

After all of that, the safe and comfortable thing would have been to kick the extra point and go to overtime. No one could have blamed Rivera for that. Instead, Rivera put himself and the entire offense on the spot — and opened himself up to all those whose toughest decision of the day was no more testing than what kind of pizza to order. As bitterly disappointing as the result was, it had an odd kind of credibility.

“He has confidence in his players,” tight end Logan Thomas said. “He tells us every



Washington quarterback Kyle Allen gets stuffed and throws away the ball on a failed two-point conversation late in the fourth quarter.

day how much he believes in us — and he backs it with his actions.”

A good NFL coach makes literally hundreds of decisions on a Sunday that work so well no one really notices them. Anyone who has been in the league for as long as Rivera has will also have hundreds of calls

they would like to have back. As analyst and former coach Tony Dungy recently reflected, “You’re going to have so many of those that all you would ever think about, if you let that creep in, is second-guessing yourself.” The solid leaders and longest survivors in this league are comfortable in their overall

thought process and philosophy, and they don’t torment themselves over single outcomes.

Rivera has now committed himself to not one but two nervy, tough calls in these past couple of weeks. His benching of Dwayne Haskins, at peril of displeasing owner Daniel

Snyder, has a similar go-for-brokeness. Haskins, the 2019 first-round draft pick, is dynamic but too juvenile, while Allen, a third-year undrafted free agent, has palpably less talent but more maturity and recognition. It’s the kind of choice that can doom a coach, but that’s a chance Rivera can

clearly live with.

Washington is obviously still not fully baked, and that state of affairs may exist for the rest of this strange season. The transition to a new staff and a roster rebuild are always matters of extreme patience but never more so than in a pandemic. Zoom calls, remote learning, virtual meetings, truncated camps and practices — how was anybody supposed to fully coalesce in those conditions? More than a third of the way through the season, one thing is apparent: Teams with good coach-quarterback partnerships have significant advantages. From that standpoint, Rivera’s choices to go with Allen, whom he signed with Carolina, and to stay with him make sense.

Yes, there are the turnovers and the final deflating play, but there were encouraging signs of growth within the game, too. Washington had four scoring drives of 70 or more yards, long sustained efforts of 11, 13, 14 and 10 plays. One of those possessions kept it in the game just before halftime, and one of them damn near won the thing near the end. “That gives us an opportunity,” Rivera said. The implication was clear: At least we had a chance. And that made it worth taking that final chance.

“I want to win football games,” he said. “I don’t care if this is my first year. I don’t care if we have a group of young guys that have to learn. We’re trying to teach them, we’re going to teach them, and they’re going to learn how to win, and at the end of the day that’s what we’re here for.”

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For more by Sally Jenkins, visit [washingtonpost.com/jenkins](https://www.washingtonpost.com/jenkins).



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NOTICE OF TRUSTEES SALE
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In execution of a Deed of Trust dated October 31, 2017, in the amount of \$275,000.00, recorded as Instrument Number 2017031-0014 in the Clerk's Office of Loudoun County, Virginia, default having been made in the payment of the debt therein secured, and being instructed to do so by the party secured by the Deed of Trust, the undersigned, the Trustee, Substitution Trustees, any of whom may act, will on **November 3, 2023, at 11:00 a.m.**, at the front main entrance to the Loudoun County Circuit Court, 18 East Market Street, Leesburg, Virginia, receive bids at public auction to the highest bidder the real property ("Property") with improvements thereon, described as follows:

Subs 1, 2 & 3, 2 Rural Economy Lot 1A, BLUE RIDGE DRIVE, as duly dedicated, platted and recorded in the Deed of Dedication, Substitution Estates, Lots 1, 2 and 3, 2 Rural Economy Lot 1A, BLUE RIDGE DRIVE, as duly dedicated, platted and recorded in the Deed of Dedication, Substitution Estates, Substitution, Release and Private Drive Maintenance Agreement dated October 30, 2013 and recorded on December 2, 2013 as Instrument Number 2013102-009286-1, among the land records of Loudoun County, Virginia.

More completely known as:

Lot 1: 35615 Treasure Lane, Round Hill, VA 20141 - PM #585-39-2030-000
Lot 2: 35383 Treasure Lane, Round Hill, VA 20141 - PM #585-39-2148-000
Lot 1A: 17711 Armitage Road, Round Hill, VA 20141 - PM #585-39-6152-000

Any non-real estate rights and interests to be offered for sale by the Substitution Trustees consist of all forms of such rights and interests as more particularly described above. No representations or warranties are made as to the existence or condition of any such items, it being the sole responsibility of the purchaser to make such determination.

A deposit of the sum of a cash bid in full shall be required by the Substitution Trustees to be made by a bidder on behalf of the Noteholder or its subsidiary or affiliate. The Noteholder or any subsidiary or affiliate thereof may apply its outstanding amount of the debt under the Note to the cash bid.

The deposit, without interest, is applied to the purchase price at settlement. Settlement will be held on or before thirty (30) days after sale. The Substitution Trustees shall have the authority to accept or reject any bid, and the Property shall be resold at the risk and costs of the defaulting purchaser. After any such default and forfeiture, the Property and all other rights and interests subsisting in or to the Property, including the Substitution Trustees' interest, shall be sold to the next highest bidder on the Property whose bid was acceptable to the Substitution Trustees.

The Property shall be sold "AS IS" and "WITH ALL FAULTS." Neither the Substitution Trustees nor their agents, attorneys, successors, or assigns, make any representations or warranties with respect to the Property including, without limitation, representations or warranties as to the title, integrity, physical condition, construction, workmanship, materials, habitability, compliance with applicable zoning regulations, fitness for a particular purpose or merchantability of all or any part of the Property. The Substitution Trustees shall not be liable for any damages, including consequential damages, arising out of or from the sale of the Property.

any investigation, examination, or inspection of the Property being sold is within the control of the owner or other parties in possession and control of the Property, including the Seller, the Substituted Trustee, the Noteholder, or their agents, successors or assigns.

Conveyance of the Property shall be with special warranty and shall be subject to all existing housing, building, zoning and other code violations, and to all covenants, conditions and restrictions, including but not limited to all environmental problems and violations which may exist on or in respect to the Property, if any, and shall be subject to all recorded and unrecorded covenants, conditions and restrictions, including but not limited to, way covenants, agreements, conditions, restrictions, leases, occupancy agreements and mechanics and materialmen's liens, to the extent any of the foregoing may lawfully apply to the Property being sold, or any part thereof, and take priority over the liens and security interests of the lender or trust.

Without limiting the generality of the foregoing, the Property will be sold without representation or warranty as to the environmental condition or condition of the Property, including but not limited to the Seller's knowledge of laws and regulations concerning the purchase or disposal of hazardous substances. Acceptance of the deed to the Property shall constitute a representation and warranty by the Seller to the Buyer, the Substituted Trustee and their respective agents, successors, and assigns, concerning the environmental condition of the Property including, but not limited to, the Seller's knowledge of laws and regulations concerning the purchase or disposal and compensation and Liability Act of 1980, as amended, and/or state or local law, ordinances or regulations. The purchaser be required to sign a sale memorandum waiving any cause of action it may have against the Seller, the Substituted Trustee, the Noteholder, or their respective agents, successors and assigns, for any condition of the Property that may not comply with any federal, state or local law, regulation or ruling, and/or any condition of the Property that may be related to or result in environmental contamination or hazardous wastes. Such agreement shall also provide that, if notwithstanding such agreement, a court of competent jurisdiction should find that the Seller, the Substituted Trustee, the Substituted Trustee and/or the Noteholder, or their respective agents, successors and assigns, such agreement shall serve as the overwhelming evidence of the intent of the parties to the agreement to release and discharge liability. Nothing in this paragraph shall release, waive or preclude any claims the purchaser may have against any person in possession or control of the Property.

Risk of loss or damage to the Property shall be borne by the purchaser from and after the strike down of the bid at the foreclosure sale. The purchaser shall pay all closing costs, including the preparation of the Trustee's deed and all taxes and recording costs assessed thereon and shall be responsible for obtaining all necessary permits and licenses.

and congestion relief fee, if applicable, settlement fees, title examination charges and any title insurance charges shall be paid by the Substituted Trustee on the date prior to the foreclosure will be paid by the Substitute Trustee. Purchaser shall be responsible for all real estate taxes due on the Property from and after the date of the sale of the Property. The Trustee will not deliver possession of all or any part of the Property being sold.

The Substitute Trustee reserves the right to amend or supplement the terms of sale by verbal announcements during the sale, to modify the requirements of the bid and deposit, to reject any and all bids, to withdraw all or part of the Property from the sale prior to the commencement of bidding, to postpone the sale, and to conduct such other sales as the Substitute Trustee may deem appropriate.

At the time of sale, the successful bidder shall be required to execute a memorandum of sale which shall include, by reference, all the terms and conditions contained herein.

The form of Memorandum of Sale is available from the Substitute Trustee upon request and will be available at the sale.

Immediately upon delivery of the deed for the property by the Substitute Trustee, all duties, liabilities, and obligations of the Substitute Trustee, if any, to the purchaser with respect to the Property shall be extinguished.

William H. Castlerline, Jr.
Jeremy R. Root
James P. Niczogan, Jr.

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S0115-2x6

Odoi-Atsem propels United

UNITED FROM D1

In a season with few feel-good moments, this was a great one.

"It's so awesome," said interim coach Chad Ashton, who improved to 1-1-1 since he took over for the fired Ben Olsen on Oct. 8. "He has just been through a lot and continues to work and work and work. It's such a credit to him, and I am so happy for him. He is well deserving to get that."

Earlier, both teams had taken advantage of goalkeeping errors to score. Donovan Pines, another former Maryland player, put shorthanded United ahead in the first half with his second goal in two matches. Brandon Vazquez equalized for Cincinnati (4-11-4) midway through the second half.

United's absences included long-term injuries (Paul Arriola, Felipe Martins, Mohammed Abu, Ulises Segura and Steven Birnbaum), short-term ailments (Júnior Moreno), illness (Bill Hamid and Yordy Reyna) and a yellow-card suspension (Russell Canouse).

Because of the pandemic disruptions, MLS has allowed nine substitutes on the bench. United on Sunday had six spare bodies.

Cincinnati did not have nearly as many injuries but was down to its third-string goalkeeper, Edwards, who made his MLS debut Wednesday.

Ashton stuck largely with what worked in a 2-2 draw against Philadelphia on Wednesday, keeping Yamil Asad in central midfield and Edison Flores on the left wing.

Odoi-Atsem replaced Oniel Fisher at right back. Nyeman filled in for Canouse in defensive midfield.

With Hamid missing a second consecutive match, Chris Seitz made his sixth start in net.

The first half strolled along with minor threats at both ends. United's early highlight was Nyeman, from deep in his end, warding off an opponent while pushing forward with possession and pulling away from two others before delivering a terrific through ball that almost connected with Gelmin Rivas.

United went ahead in the 36th minute on Pines's second career goal, facilitated by Edwards's extraordinary blunder.

From 40 yards, Asad served a free kick that sailed well beyond his preferred target. Edwards should have let it fly out of bounds for a goal kick.

Instead, he leaped at the end line and tried to catch the errant ball. Edwards's momentum was carrying him over the line, but instead of conceding a corner kick, he dropped the ball in play next to the right post.

Pines hadn't given up on the play, and when the ball fell in

front of him, he controlled it with his right foot and tucked it into the net with his left.

Edwards pulled his orange jersey over his face in embarrassment, then prayed the video assistant referee would rule the ball had gone out of bounds before his unintended assist. No such luck.

United had trailed at intermission eight times this season and been tied 10 times. Finally, it took a halftime lead into the locker room.

Cincinnati tied it in the 66th minute thanks to Seitz's error. The 14-year MLS veteran fumbled Siem de Jong's 25-yard bid, leaving the ball for Vazquez to poke into the net.

Odoi-Atsem's goal and the resulting outcome capped a stretch of three matches in eight days in which United played well but, until Sunday, hadn't won.

"It would be difficult to have the week that we've had, to play as well as we've played, and not end up with three points," Ashton said. "To be rewarded puts us in a good place mentally, helps us move forward, helps us believe in what we are doing, that we are doing the right things."

Notes: United will visit Atlanta (5-10-4) on Saturday. Ashton said there is a "very good chance" Hamid and Moreno (hamstring) will be available.

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Black candidates emerge in D.C.'s coaching search

BY STEVEN GOFF

At least five Black coaches are on the preliminary list of candidates for D.C. United's head coaching job, a sign that, amid a year of protests about racial inequity, MLS recognizes diversity shortcomings in leadership positions.

It remains unclear how many individuals United will formally interview, three people familiar with United's selection process said this weekend.

The initial pool of Black coaches, those people said, includes MLS assistants Ezra Hendrickson (Columbus Crew), Tyrone Marshall (Real Salt Lake) and Patrice Bernier (Montreal Impact); former MLS assistant C.J. Brown (most recently with the New York Red Bulls); and Michael Nsien, head coach of Tulsa FC in the second-division USL Championship.

They are among at least 15 individuals, one person said, whom United is evaluating in the first stage of its search to replace Ben Olsen, who was fired Oct. 8 after 10 years. Chad Ashton, a D.C. assistant since 2007, was named interim head coach.

The search comes as Black Players for Change, an MLS group with more than 170 members that formed this summer, presses the league for greater opportunities in coaching and front-office positions.

In 2007, MLS introduced the Coaching Diversity Initiative, which required teams to interview minority candidates for openings on the technical staff. However, a report by Fare Network, which tracks diversity and discrimination in soccer worldwide, said, "There is no evidence of implementation."

Montreal's Thierry Henry and Colorado's Robin Fraser are the only Black head coaches in the 26-team league, which has employed six Black head coaches in its 24-year history. The others were Ruud Gullit (Los Angeles Galaxy, 2008), Denis Hamlett (Chicago Fire, 2008-09), Aron Winter (Toronto FC, 2011-12) and Patrick Vieira (New York City FC, 2016-18).

Twenty-five percent of the MLS player pool this year is Black, according to Fare Net-

work. Another 33 percent is Latino.

Latinos account for seven current head coaches. Seventeen percent of assistant coaches are Black, and 4 percent are Latino. Toronto's Ali Curtis is the league's lone Black general manager.

United has never employed a Black or Latino head coach. The current staff includes one Black assistant, goalkeepers coach Zach Thornton.

United officials said they did not want to comment on their coaching search, which, according to two people close to the situation, could take many weeks, if not months. Barring a late surge, last-place United will conclude the season Nov. 8.

One person close to the team said it has done "extensive research in the preliminary stages of the search, and that includes evaluating several Black coaching candidates."

Among the other potential options — all are White — are Jason Kreis, the U.S. under-23 national team coach who has guided three MLS teams; Steve Cherundolo, a former U.S. national team defender who is coaching in Germany; and Jill Ellis, who guided the U.S. women's national team to two World Cup titles.

United also might consider former D.C. players John Harkes, head coach of the third-division Greenville (S.C.) Triumph, and Richie Williams, a New England Revolution assistant.

Hendrickson, 48, was a defender on United's 2004 MLS Cup championship team. He has been an assistant for Seattle, the Los Angeles Galaxy and Columbus and was head coach of Seattle's second-division team (2014-18).

Marshall, 45, has been a Salt Lake assistant since 2015. Bernier, 41, is in his second year on the Montreal staff.

Brown, 45, began his assistant coaching tenure in 2011 with Salt Lake and has worked for Chicago, New York City FC, Orlando City and the Red Bulls. Nsien, 39, is in his second full season overseeing Tulsa, which had a 6-2-7 record this season after a 8-16-10 mark in 2019.

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Lopez adds belts, respect with win over Lomachenko

BY GENE WANG

Teofimo Lopez had some pointed words for his many doubters late Saturday night after overcoming long odds to upset Vasilii Lomachenko by unanimous decision and unify the lightweight division.

The charismatic American's told-you-so approach came on the heels of a technically brilliant performance belying his 23 years and unveiled a considerable boxing acumen well beyond the raw power on which Lopez had leaned in previous fights.

"Give me my damn respect," said the New York native, nattily attired in a dark suit, white dress shirt and tie during a post-fight news conference at the MGM Grand Conference Center in Las Vegas.

The result secured Lopez plenty while vaulting him to the upper reaches of the sport, in the company of such luminaries as Canelo Alvarez, Terence Crawford and Tyson Fury. It also allows Lopez to dictate terms of his next bout in becoming the first boxer in the four-belt era to unify at 135 pounds.

In winning by judges' scores of 119-109, 117-113 and 116-112, Lopez (16-0, 12 knockouts) retained his International Boxing Federation title and wrested Lomachenko's World Boxing Association, World Boxing Organization and World Boxing Council "franchise" championships.

Lopez also settled what he has called personal issues with Lomachenko, 32, dating from several years ago when his father and head trainer, Teofimo Sr., exchanged words with the Ukrainian southpaw, who is widely regarded among the top pound-for-pound fighters of his generation.

The heated confrontation compelled Lopez Sr. to promise his son would knock Lomachenko (14-2, 10 KOs) off his perch in due time.

Lomachenko fired back verbal barbs of his own in the weeks leading to the fight, suggesting Lopez's bluster would lead to his undoing once the two stepped into the ring for one of the more anticipated showdowns in recent years.

"That's a true champion right there," the younger Lopez said. "Loma was a hell of a fighter. He knows what he's doing, but his time is over. I told you guys. I'm smart when I'm in there. I'm going to take bumps and bruises. I mean that's part of it, so I dig down deep in those last rounds for a reason."

After commanding the center of the ring over the first half of the fight, Lopez withstood a valiant comeback in the middle rounds from Lomachenko, who, at a significant reach disadvantage, began getting inside to land body blows and connecting with combinations to the head.

Fighting in a virtually empty arena amid the novel coronavirus pandemic, Lopez sealed the outcome with a flourish in the 12th round despite absorbing a shot that opened a nasty gash above his right eye in the closing seconds that required stitches in the locker room.

"My son was the better man," Lopez Sr. said with a championship belt slung over his left shoulder. "We did something that everybody thought we couldn't do. We outboxed him. We gave him a clinic, you know. I'm just so glad, man, that everything that I said came into existence."

The contract for the fight, which was promoted by Top Rank and broadcast on ESPN, did not include a rematch clause, per Lomachenko's terms as the three-belt champion, thus leaving the two-time Olympic gold medalist at the mercy of Lopez and his team as to whether they would face one another again.

Lopez dismissed any notion of a rematch, citing a victory that left no doubt about his standing as the far superior fighter. He outlanded Lomachenko 183-141, according to statistics from CompuBox, and connected on 148 power punches, at a rate of 41 percent.

That's the highest percentage of power punches landed against Lomachenko, extending a troubling trend since he moved up from junior feather and featherweight. Lomachenko, who fought nearly 400 times as an amateur, did not immediately indicate whether he would consider dropping back down for future bouts.

Lopez Sr., meanwhile, is pushing for his son to move up to 140 pounds, although Lopez Jr. mentioned Devin Haney as a potential opponent at 135. Haney is the WBC regular champion, a lesser, more restrictive designation than the sanctioning body's "franchise" champion belonging to Lopez.

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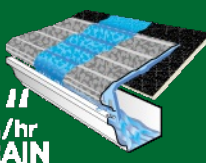
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SOCCER ROUNDUP

Bale's Tottenham return features ugly comeback

TOTTENHAM 3, WEST HAM 3

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Tottenham was transformed by Gareth Bale's homecoming, just not in the way Jose Mourinho had imagined. Up by three and in complete control when Bale came off the bench in the 72nd minute against West Ham, Tottenham collapsed and wound up with a 3-3 draw in the Premier League on Sunday in London.

With almost the last kick of the game, Manuel Lanzini blasted a shot from distance into the roof of the net to snatch a point that seemed extremely unlikely when Son Heung-min scored in the first minute and Harry Kane netted twice by the 16th minute.

Bale is on loan from Real Madrid, returning to Tottenham after seven years. . . .

Aston Villa won its fourth straight to open the Premier League season as Ross Barkley scored in stoppage time to secure a 1-0 road victory over Leicester. . . .

In London, visiting Brighton scored a deflected 90th-minute equalizer before having a man sent off in its 1-1 draw at local rival Crystal Palace. . . .

Sheffield United and Fulham both collected their first point of the season after drawing, 1-1, in a match in Sheffield. . . .

Liverpool announced Virgil van Dijk needs surgery on his right knee and probably will be out for a long period after he damaged ligaments Saturday. . . .

Former Manchester United and Arsenal forward Danny Welbeck, 29, joined Brighton on a one-season deal.

•**GERMANY:** Ondrej Duda scored to salvage a 1-1 draw for Cologne against visiting Eintracht Frankfurt and earned his team its first Bundesliga point of the season. . . .

Schalke earned its first Bundesliga point this season but failed to end its club-record 20-game run without a win after a 1-1 draw with Union Berlin in Gelsenkirchen.

Schalke apologized for its fans'

racist abuse of Borussia Dortmund youth player Youssoufa Moukoko during a match between the clubs' under-19 sides Sunday.

•**ITALY:** Sassuolo scored three goals in 13 minutes to complete a comeback from two goals down to win, 4-3, at Bologna in Serie A. . . .

Udinese picked up its first points of the season and scored its first goals with a 3-2 home victory over a depleted Parma side. . . .

Florentina gave up a two-goal lead to draw, 2-2, at Spezia. . . .

Edin Dzeko scored his first two goals of the season as Roma beat Benevento, 5-2, in Rome.

•**SPAIN:** The signing of former Valencia players paid off for Villarreal in the regional derby. Dani Parejo and Paco Alcacer each scored against their former club as host Villarreal earned a 2-1 win. . . . Athletic Bilbao ended a two-game losing streak with a 2-0 victory over Levante at home. . . .

Eibar drew, 0-0, with visiting Osasuna.

•**FRANCE:** Lille is atop the French league, undefeated and with the fewest goals conceded, after beating northern rival Lens, 4-0, in Villeneuve d'Ascq. . . .

In other matches, it was Angers 1, Metz 1, and Nantes 3, Brest 1.

•**MLS:** Artur de Lima Junior and Pedro Santos scored, and the Columbus Crew beat visiting New York City FC, 3-1. . . .

In Harrison, N.J., Brian White scored in stoppage time, helping the New York Red Bulls to a 1-1 tie with Orlando City. . . .

Niko Hansen's goal in the 83rd minute helped the Houston Dynamo earn a 2-2 tie with Minnesota United in St. Paul, Minn.

Pablo Piatti scored in the 89th minute to give MLS-leading Toronto FC a 1-0 win over Atlanta United in East Hartford, Conn.

•**WOMEN'S SUPER LEAGUE:** Alex Morgan's Tottenham debut won't be for another few weeks, but Tobin Heath and Christen Press scored their first goals for Manchester United in a 4-2 win over West Ham in London in contrasting fortunes for the American arrivals in the league.

Morgan, who gave birth in May, has yet to play for Tottenham after signing last month.